

RUSSIA

ANCIENT AND MODERN.

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RUSSIA

ANCIENT AND MODERN.

BY THE

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P R E F A C E.

THE design of this work is to present as full an account as its limits will permit of the growth and present state of the Russian nation. The foreign countries subjected to its dominion admit only of the briefest reference.

The political and social condition of a first-rate European Power, which has sprung into existence even more rapidly than the British dominion in India, would be an object of considerable interest if its progress had no other significance in connexion with our own. A glance at the map, however, is enough to show that, in every part of the world, Russia is pursuing the steps of Great Britain with an eagerness, which seems to wait only age and opportunity to be converted into a formidable rivalry.

The inquiry most interesting to the Christian reader is unfortunately embarrassed with peculiar difficulties. The state of Christianity in Russia

differs so entirely from that of the rest of Europe as to render the ordinary tests inapplicable. Derived from the Greek church, and at a later period in history, it was little affected by the great Protestant Reformation, which has more or less modified all the churches of Latin origin. The national creed is indebted to royal authority more than to apostolical preaching. The hierarchy is the mere creature of the government, appointed, removed, deposed, and imprisoned at the pleasure of the autocrat. The monasteries, always without a foreign superior, are now few and insignificant. The parochial clergy, married and resident among their flocks, possess great influence with the peasantry, but are excluded by their poverty and want of refinement from the society of the aristocracy, while there is no middle class to foster and sustain an evangelical ministry.

It follows that with nothing to provoke the envy or cupidity of the nobles, and little to awaken a spirit of inquiry among the masses, no great movement has ever taken place for the reform of religion. The largest and only influential secession from the Establishment was occasioned by some unimportant improvements, effected by the crown and the patriarch. The "Old Believers" are still the only Dissenters

having a recognised position; and they outrun the established Church in the extravagance of a blind attachment to tradition and ceremonial.

The Greek churches having happily avoided the great stumbling-stone of Rome, Holy Scripture is acknowledged as the supreme authority in religious matters, and its circulation in the native language is (under certain restrictions) encouraged by the Russian authorities. The Holy Synod has begun to publish, too, religious tracts at less than a penny a copy. On the other hand, the church services, gorgeous and picturesque as they are described, are loaded with superstition and idolatry. The priests are jealous and watchful of innovation, and liberty of conscience is almost wholly unknown. In such circumstances it is hard to estimate the amount of vital religion either in the classes which protect, or in those which obey, the church. Without its pale the means of inquiry are still more deficient; for though many sects are known to exist, most of them take refuge in secrecy; and the little which transpires seems to savour more of the rites of a lingering paganism than of any serious inquiry after the more excellent way.

On the **whole**, while admitting the many scattered **elements of** good, fully acknowledging the

inestimable advantage of a translated Bible, and never forgetting the secret teaching of the Holy Spirit, the evangelical inquirer will seek in vain for one Russian community, or even a single congregation, exhibiting a pure Scriptural faith in the atonement and righteousness of Jesus Christ, as the only way of justification from sin, and looking exclusively to the power of the Holy Ghost to regenerate and sanctify the heart. The elements of a gospel righteousness have yet to be proposed, pure and unalloyed, to the Russian people.

Their dissemination by means of the press is an object of peculiar interest to the Religious Tract Society. It is greatly furthered by the recent formation of village schools, in which the peasantry are now everywhere learning to read. A prodigious impulse must be given to such efforts by the promised *Emancipation of the Serfs*,—a measure promulgated as these pages were going to the press. Still it may be truly said “There are many adversaries;” the event must be left in prayer with Him who has declared, “As the rain cometh down, and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud, that it may give seed to the sower, and bread to

the eater: so shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth: it shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it." *

* Isaiah lv. 10, 11.

*(The following are the principal Authorities referred to
in this volume.)*

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RUSSIAN COINS, WEIGHTS, AND MEASURES.

COPPER COINAGE.

2 Polushna	make	1 Denushka.
2 Denushka	„	1 Kopaika, or cent (kopek).
3 Kopeks	„	1 Grosh.
5 Kopeks	„	1 Piatak
10 Kopeks	„	1 Grivna.

SILVER COINAGE.

40 Paper Kopeks	make	1 Grivnik.
60 Do. do.	„	1 Shesti grivnik.
80 Do. do.	„	1 Vosim grivnik.
360 Do. do. or } 100 Silver Kopeks }	„	1 Rouble = 331 copper kopeks
50 Do. do.	„	1 Poltnik ($\frac{1}{2}$ rouble).
25 Do. do.	„	1 Tshetvertak ($\frac{1}{4}$ rouble).
60 Copper Kopeks	„	1 Polish zlot.
The Silver Rouble is worth about 3s. 4d. English money.		
The Paper Rouble * (100 Paper Kopeks)		
-	-	-
-	-	-
-	-	0s. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. „

GOLD COINAGE.

						Silver Roubles.	Silver Kopeks.
Imperial	-	-	-	-	-	10	30
Half or Pol	-	-	-	-	-	5	15
A piece of	-	-	-	-	-	3	9

WEIGHTS.

68 Grains	make	1 Zolotnik.
96 Zolotniks	„	1 Pound.
40 Pounds	„	1 Pood = 36 lbs. <i>avoirdupois</i> .

LONG MEASURE.

28 Inches	make	1 Archine (Russian yard).
3 Archines	„	1 Sajene = 7 English feet.
500 Sajenes	„	1 Verst.
A Verst-and-half is nearly equal to an English mile.		

* The Paper Rouble was originally equivalent to the Silver, but having become depreciated by an excessive issue of assignats, it is now fixed by imperial ukase at 3·60 to 1.



RUSSIA

ANCIENT AND MODERN. .

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY.

Extent, Population, and Position of the Empire—Political Unity—Encroachments on other States—Description—Russia Proper—Countries annexed—Present Distribution—Nations—Languages—Religions—Physical Geography—Mountains—Steppes—Forests—Lakes and Rivers—Internal Navigation—Russia in Europe—Four Regions: Forest, Table-land, Black Earth, Steppes—Lapland—Finland—Baltic Provinces—White Russia—Lithuania—Poland—New Russia—Bessarabia—Total Productions—Animals—Minerals—Caucasian Provinces—Mountains—Passes—Tribes and Languages—Circassians—Georgians—Caspian—Amoor Territory—Altai Mountains—Siberia—Waters—Furs—Ural Iron Works—Copper—Malachite—Jewels—Altai Mines—Silver—Gold—Marble—Volcanoes—Kamachatka—Behring's Straits—American Coast.

THE Russian empire embraces, at its northern limit, about two-thirds of the land surface of the globe. Communicating with the Atlantic by means of the Baltic and White Seas, it stretches eastward over all Europe and Asia to the Pacific Ocean, where, crossing Behring's Straits, it penetrates into America as far as the 140th degree of west longitude. From the Arctic Ocean it descends southward to the Black Sea, extending at some points through more than 40 degrees of latitude,

with an average breadth of 1,500 miles. Independently of the American possessions, Russia contains the largest territorial dominion in the world, and, in place of being scattered, like the British empire, over distant seas and colonies, she occupies one enormous block of land, washed by four oceans, and comprising an area exceeding seven millions and a half of English square miles, or more than an eighth of the whole solid earth.

The greatest part of this gigantic area, however, is sterile and almost uninhabited; partly in consequence of the severity of the climate, and partly from the rivers having their outlets in the northern seas, where they are closed by ice for a considerable portion of the year.

As the boundary between Europe and Asia passes for the greater portion of its length through the Russian dominions, they are geographically parcelled out into four unequal and dissimilar regions. The European portion, comprehending all the strength and civilization of the empire, occupies little more than a quarter of the territory. Two-thirds are assigned to Siberia, or the northern Asiatic region, and the remainder is shared between the provinces south of the Caucasus and the American colonies. The following is the latest and most accurate computation of the areas and population comprised in the three quarters of the globe respectively:—

		Geogr. sq. miles.	Population.
Russia in Europe	96,411	63,932,081
„ in Asia	239,556	7,300,812
„ in America	17,500	10,723
Total	353,467	71,243,616

These 353,467 geographical square miles, at fifteen to the degree, are equal to 7,511,153 English square miles at 69·15 to the degree.

The position, no less than the magnitude, of this enormous empire imparts a grave significance to its political aspect. It lies in almost immediate contact with all the great powers of the world except France. Its capital on the eastern shore of the Baltic looks directly upon Sweden and Denmark, and beyond them on the least defended coast of Great Britain. On the north and east of Germany the Russian frontier is conterminous with those of Austria and Prussia, which it outflanks at both extremities. The Ottoman empire is confronted in like manner, along and beyond the whole length of its eastern limit, by a power only separated from its capital by provinces more intimately allied to itself than to their nominal suzerain. Dominant on the Euxine and the Caspian Seas, Russia threatens Constantinople and Tehran at the same moment. The Tartar states which still intervene between her and the Indus, are so accessible to her influence that she can make it felt in British India. In China she meets the commerce of the west, not only with the equal rights of a maritime European state, but with the privileges of a powerful Asiatic neighbour, conducting a large inland trade, inaccessible and unknown to her rivals. Finally this ubiquitous power is found in the western hemisphere, seated by the side of the latest colony of Great Britain, as if ready to emulate the progress, or contest the glory, of the Anglo-Saxon emigration.

These advantages are augmented by an unparalleled political unity. Though comprehending provinces and even kingdoms of comparatively recent acquisition, the Russian element is predominant enough not only to preserve the ascendancy in the population, but to imprint its own political character on the incorporated members. Some of these in fact are descended from the same ancestry, and were anciently

united under the same institutions; others are conjoined by the ties of a common creed; and the remainder are too feeble, or too far apart, to affect the general unity. The traditions of race and religion thus combine to establish over the largest dominion in the world that patriarchal form of government, which presents the most absolute concentration of political power possible to mankind. The entire authority both in church and state is not merely vested in the sovereign, but emanates from his will, as sole proprietor of the land, and lord of the lives and very souls of its inhabitants. In Russian theory the *parens patriæ* is little less than an embodiment of the Divinity, whom it were blasphemy, not less than treason, to withstand.

These convictions, rooted in the minds and hearts of the people, and nourished by the sanctions of religion, have no higher aim than to place the entire resources of the empire at the absolute disposal of a single will. The physical impossibility of giving it effect is the only check upon this unreasonable ambition. Nowhere else is "one man's mandate so implicitly obeyed, or the devotion of so many millions gathered into one focus of action.

These peculiarities could not fail to attract the attention of neighbouring powers, even if their own interests were less directly involved in the policy long dictated to Russia by the ambition of her rulers, or the instincts of her children. From the close of the 17th century, when she first challenged a place among the states of Europe, to the present moment, her boundaries have been steadily advancing upon her neighbours in every direction. At the accession of Peter the Great (A.D. 1689) Archangel in the White Sea was her only maritime port. Sweden excluded her from the Baltic.

The Dnieper was her limit on the west, and the Don on the south. By these rivers her commerce found a narrow outlet into the Sea of Azof and the Euxine, but the entire shores of both were in the possession of Turkey. The mouths of the Volga, with the adjacent desert of Astrakhan, were all she could claim on the Caspian; and thirty years later a line of posts was still necessary from the Volga to the Don, to protect her from the incursions of the southern Tartars.

Since that period Russia has wrested from Sweden all the eastern shore of the Baltic, comprising a territory more than equal to what remains of that kingdom. Poland has contributed to her a country nearly as large as the Austrian dominions. The Ottoman Porte has yielded two sides of the Black Sea, together with provinces in Europe equal in size to Prussia, and in Asia to all the minor states of Germany. Persia has been compelled to surrender an area as large as England, while the conquests from Tartary equal European Turkey, Greece, Italy, and Spain, put together.*

These acquisitions have advanced the Russian frontier about 500 miles in the direction of Constantinople, and twice as far in that of Tehran. They have brought it at the same time six or seven hundred miles nearer to the capitals of Sweden and all the powers of western Europe. It is computed that the acquisitions made by Russia during the last seventy years are equal, in extent and value, to all that she previously possessed in

* Whilst we write, new acquisitions are announced on the southern frontier of Siberia, extending to the Amgor, and including mountains and steppes almost unknown. This territory was only first entered in 1854; in six weeks, the Russians had established themselves as far as the river, and prepared their defensive works. Advantage has now been taken of the necessities of the Chinese Emperor to secure its cession by treaty.

Europe, while her population has been augmented five-fold since the beginning of the last century.

Russia Proper may be said to consist of *Great Russia*, or the territory of the ancient grand dukes of Moscow; — *Little or Malo-Russia*, which belonged to the princes of Kief, and though long incorporated with Poland was in fact the cradle of the first Russian empire; — and the provinces called *Red* and *White Russia*, the successive prizes of Lettes, Lithuanians, Poles, and Russians. To these the following countries have been annexed : —

1. The kingdom of Kasan, wrested from the Tartars A.D. 1470.
2. Astrakhan, conquered from the Turks 1552.
3. Siberia, discovered and taken possession of 1554.
4. Ingria, Esthonia, and Livonia, ceded by Sweden 1721.
5. The Don Kossack territory, finally subjugated 1771.
6. Poland, partitioned successively in 1772, 1792, 1795.
7. Crimea and the Black Sea provinces, taken from Turkey 1774, 1783, 1792.
8. Courland, annexed by the act of its states 1795.
9. Finland and Lapland, ceded by Sweden 1809—1815.
10. Bessarabia, ceded by Turkey 1812.
11. Georgia and provinces beyond the Caucasus, conquered between 1800 and 1833.
12. Circassia, finally subdued 1859.
13. The Amoor territory just ceded by China, with many previous acquisitions in Tartary.
14. The American settlements, partly islands and partly on the coast.

The empire is at present distributed into the following Grand divisions and Governments :—

RUSSIA IN EUROPE.

NORTHERN PROVINCES :—		Geogr. sq. miles.	Pop. in 1846.
Government of Archangel	...	15,519	233,000
„ Olonetz	...	2,784	263,100
„ Vologda	...	6,967	822,200
GRAND DUCHY OF FINLAND	...	6,400	1,412,315

GREAT RUSSIA :—

Government of Petersburg	...	970	643,700
„ Novgorod	...	2,213	907,900
„ Pskof	...	810	775,800
„ Smolensk	...	1,019	1,170,600
„ Moscow	...	589	1,374,700
„ Twer	...	1,224	1,327,700
„ Yaroslaf	...	660	1,008,100
„ Kostroma	...	1,496	1,004,600
„ Nijni-Novgorod	...	877	1,178,200
„ Vladimir	...	862	1,246,500
„ Riazan	...	767	1,365,900
„ Tambof	...	1,202	1,750,900
„ Tula	...	555	1,227,000
„ Kaluga	...	573	1,006,400
„ Orel	...	859	1,502,900
„ Kursk	...	818	1,680,000

BALTIC PROVINCES :—

Government of Esthonia	...	376	310,400
„ Livonia	...	853	814,100
„ Courland	...	496	553,300

WHITE RUSSIA :—

Government of Witepsk	...	810	789,500
„ Mohilef	...	885	931,300
„ Minsk	...	1,622	1,046,400

LITHUANIA :—

Government of Wilna	...	768	863,700
„ Grodno	...	693	907,100
„ Kowno	...	758	915,580

	Geogr. sq. miles.	op. in 1846.
KINGDOM OF POLAND	2,320	4,857,700

LITTLE RUSSIA :—

Government of Volhynia	1,297	1,415,500
„ Podolia	774	1,703,000
„ Kief	914	1,605,800
„ Tchernigoff	1,000	1,430,000
„ Pultawa	897	1,783,800
„ Kharkoff	985	1,467,400
„ Voronoeje	1,209	1,657,900
„ Dn Kossacks	2,943	704,300

NEW RUSSIA :—

Government of Ekaterinoslaf	1,196	870,100
„ Kherson	1,332	842,400
„ Taurida	1,163	572,200
„ Bessarabia	838	792,000

VOLGA AND CASPIAN PROVINCES :—

Government of Kasan	1,128	1,342,900
„ Pensa	690	1,087,200
„ Simbirsk	1,315	1,318,900
„ Saratof	3,525	1,718,600
„ Astrakhan	2,860	284,400
„ Caucasus, &c	2,650	526,400

URAL PROVINCES :—

Government of Oremburg	6,673	1,948,500
„ Perm	6,073	1,637,700
„ Viatka	2,500	1,662,800
„ Total	98,837	60,362,315

RUSSIA IN ASIA.

SIBERIA :—

Government of Tobolsk	} 223,780	2,937,000
„ Tomsk		
„ Irkutsk		
„ Yakutsk		
„ Kamschatka		
„ Okhotsk		
„ Yeniseisk		

TRANSCAUCASIAN PROVINCES:—

	Geogr. sq. miles.	Pop. in 1846.
Georgia, &c. (five governments)	3,123	2,648,000
Total	226,903	5,585,000
RUSSIAN AMERICA *	17,500	61,000
Grand total	343,240	66,008,315
Or English square miles	7,293,850 *	

The empire contains, according to the computation of the Academy of Sciences at Petersburg, no less than 100 different nations, namely, 13 of Slavonian origin, 15 of Finnish or Tschoude, 40 of Tartar, 1 of American Indian, 14 of foreign colonists, and 17 of doubtful origin.

The Slavonian nations form three quarters of the whole population. They are a Caucasian race, as distinct from the Goths on the one hand as from the Tartars and Orientals on the other, and include Russians, Kossacks, Poles, Lithuanians, Serbes, Wallachians, and Bulgarians.

The *Russians*, who occupy the centre of the empire between the Dnieper and the Volga, are computed at above forty millions of souls. They are divided into Great and Little Russians, the latter inhabiting the *Ukraine* (border), which comprehends the governments of Tchernigoff, Pultawa, Kief, Vollhynia, and Podolia. The *Kossacks* † (from *Kassak*, a wanderer, or military nomad) are descendants of the Little Russians, intermixed with Poles, Tartars, and Kalnucks. The *Poles*, mostly seated in Vollhynia, Podolia, Grodno, and Poland, amount to eight millions; the *Lithuanians*, inhabiting

* The difference between these totals and those which are given before is accounted for partly by the want of actual surveys, and partly by the recent acquisitions in the Caucasian region.

† *Kassak*, in Southern Russia, is the term for a *freeman*, and as such is assumed by nobles and Jews in contradistinction to the *serfs*.

Wilna and Minsk, to a million and a half; the *Lettes*, in Courland and Livonia, to half a million; and the *Vlaches* or *Wallachians*, in Bessarabia, to the same number.

The Fins, or Tschoudes, amount to about three millions, and inhabit two separate portions of the empire. The majority are settled on the Gulf of Finland; the *Fins* and *Laplanders* on the north; the *Esthonians* and *Livis*, or *Livonians*, on the south. Five hundred miles to the east, on the slopes of the Ural mountains and the banks of the Volga, is another branch of the Tschoudes, divided into seven or eight tribes, some of which are still heathen, while others mix their Mohammedan or Pagan rites with an imperfect Christianity.

The Caucasian *Tartars* (or, as they call themselves, *Turks*) are divided into four tribes — the *Kasan Tartars*, the *Bashkirs*, the *Metscherki*, and the *Nogai*. The first is the most civilized, and numbers about 230,000, of whom only an eighth part have embraced Christianity, the remainder being Mohammedans. The Bashkirs roam the two declivities of the Ural mountains, still adhering to the old wandering life, and to the creed of Mohammed. The Metscherki are interspersed among them, and do not exceed 20,000 individuals. The Nogai Tartars inhabit the Crimea and the steppe to its north with the adjacent coast of Azof: they amount to 600,000 in number, one third of whom are settled in the valleys and towns of the southern Crimea, and the remainder lead a nomadic life in the steppes.

The Tartars of Asiatic descent are the *Kalmucks*, between the Don and the Caspian (the only people in Europe who profess the Buddhist religion), the *Kirghis Kossacks*, who are Mohammedans, and the *Mantchus*, from the borders of China. This population does not

exceed two millions altogether. The tribes of doubtful origin are the *Samoyedes*, a polar people, the *Kamschatdales*, and some others in Siberia.

The foreign settlers include more than two millions of the Teutonic race, Germans, Swedes and Danes, above a million of Jews, and half as many Greeks. The Germans are mostly settled in the Baltic provinces (where they constitute the nobility) in the two capitals, and in colonies on the middle Volga and in the Crimea. The Swedes are numerous along the Gulfs of Finland and Bothnia. The Jews are mostly found in the provinces formerly belonging to Poland, where they form almost the entire population of many towns. The Greeks are dispersed through the southern provinces and in the Crimea.

The languages of this multitudinous population are about forty, diversified by many dialects. The mother tongue of both Russian and Polish was the old Slavonic, a language distinguished for letters and combinations scarcely pronounceable by other races. The introduction of Christianity, with the subsequent influence of the Greek and Latin churches respectively, contributed to the separate growth of the two languages, the Russian being further affected by the Mongol domination. At present the latter tongue is divided into three principal dialects:—1. The pure Russian of Moscow and the central parts of the empire; 2. The Malo-Russian of Little Russia, which contains most of the old Slavonic element, and is essentially the same idiom with that spoken by three millions of people in Galicia, Hungary, and Poland, who belong to the Greek church but are not included in the Russian empire; 3. The White Russian, spoken in the western districts, and extending into Lithuania and Volhynia.

The Lithuanian and Lettish tongues are also derivatives from the Slavonic, but differ from each other as well as from Russian and Polish. The Wallachian is a mixture of Latin, Greek, Italian, and Turkish.

The Tschoudes and Tartars possess a still greater variety of language and dialect in their respective tribes.

In religion almost all the varieties known to mankind are found in the Russian empire. The Russians, Kossacks, and Wallachians are of the national church, which is a branch of the orthodox Oriental, or Greek, communion. The Poles, Lithuanians, and Courlanders adhere to the church of Rome, or to the *Uniate* church which retains the Greek rite in communion with the Papal See. The Lutheran worship predominates in the Baltic and Swedish provinces, and other Protestant communities exist in different parts of the empire. Some of the Laplanders and remoter Tschoudes and Tartars are still Pagans. The more civilized Tartars and the nations of the Caucasus contain two or three millions of Mohammedans. Jews, Buddhists, and even Hindus, are included in the heterogeneous catalogue.

The physical geography of dominions extending from the Frozen Ocean to the borders of Persia, and from Germany to the Chinese empire, must necessarily present a great variety of feature. For so vast a country Russia is singularly deficient in mountains. The Ural chain, separating the European portion from Siberia, attains in parts an elevation of 6800 feet.* The Caucasian range, prolonging the boundary between Europe and Asia from the Caspian to the Black Sea, rises to more than double that height. Lapland and Kamschatka, at the northern corners of the empire, and the Altai range at the south-east, have mountains whose

* Malte Brun, Book xxxvi.

summits are wrapped in perpetual snow. But the enormous spaces inclosed within these barriers are diversified only by forest, lake, and river. The sole interior elevation of European Russia is that of the Valdai heights between Novgorod and Moscow; and these, though forming the watershed for the northern and southern seas, nowhere rise 500 feet from their base, nor beyond 1200 above the level of the sea.

This peculiar conformation occasions the vast open plains which, under the name of *steppes*, form one of the two great features of the Russian landscape. The other is the *forest*, extending in unbroken masses over districts as large as kingdoms, and supplying timber and fuel for successive generations with little appearance of exhaustion or decay. These two features seldom intermingle in the landscape. The forest holds its own with such unbroken possession that it is commonly said a squirrel may travel from Petersburg to Moscow without touching the ground. On the other hand, the dry elevated steppe contains hardly a tree or a bush to break the winds as they sweep unimpeded from the Ural to the Carpathian mountains.

The lakes and rivers of Russia are spacious, but their waters are often locked in ice, and the general flatness of the country permits but a tranquil current when in motion. The lake of Baikal, in Siberia, is one of the largest in the world: Ladoga, Onega, Peipus, Ilmen, and Bielo Ozero, are among the most considerable of Europe. The rivers are naturally classified by the seas into which they discharge their contents. The Arctic Ocean receives the largest and most numerous, comprising all the Siberian waters, and in Europe the *Onega*, the *Dwina*, the *Mezen*, and the *Petchora*. The frequent frost renders these rivers of less political and

commercial value than the smaller streams of the lower and more genial districts. Into the Baltic fall the *Neva*, the *Duna*, or Southern Dwina, the *Niemen*, and the *Vistula*. The Black Sea receives the *Pruth* (by the mouths of the Danube), the *Dniester*, *Dnieper*, and *Bug*, together with the *Don* through the Sea of Azof. The *Volga* (anciently called the *Rha**) is the largest river of Europe, and has received the appellation of the Scythian Nile. Rising in a small lake on the Valdai plateau, and accomplishing a distance of 2000 miles in its long and tortuous course to the Caspian Sea, it drains an area of 636,000 square miles, or more than twice the extent of the basin of the Danube, and eight times that of the Rhine. The Caspian receives also the *Ural* and the *Emba*.

The Russian waters were very early connected into a system of internal navigation, extending from sea to sea, by means of canals and tributary streams. The *Volga* being thus united with the *Don*, the *Neva*, and the Northern Dwina, Archangel and Petersburg are enabled to send their merchandise by water to Astrakhan, and all parts of the Caspian. In the west, the *Dnieper* is connected in like manner with the *Bug*, the *Vistula*, and the *Niemen*, uniting the commerce of the Baltic with that of the Black Sea. The system is extended across the mountains into Siberia. From Tobolsk to the *Volga* there is a navigation of about 4000 miles in length, having a carrying place of 240 miles through the Ural mountains, and after its junction with the *Volga*, there is a water-carriage of 5400 miles, by which the teas of China and the iron and furs of Siberia find their way to the capital. These water

* This word, like *Rhine*, and many others in ancient languages, seems to have signified simply "The River."

communications form the high roads of the country in more senses than one: when the passage of boats is suspended by frost, sledges take their place on the hardened surface, and even increase the speed and facility of transport. Other sledges, also, meeting the rivers and canals from the interior, transport their burdens across the frozen snow, by tracks which are impassable in summer.

Russia in Europe may be described as a vast elevated plain declining gently to the westward, and presenting a considerable variety of climate, soil, and productions. It is divided into four great regions, which nature seems to have made mutually necessary to each other.

1. The north is the region of the woods, and was anciently covered by one unbroken forest as large as Germany, France, and Spain put together. Here roamed the *Fins* or *Tschoudes*, subsisting by the chase, like the Indians of North America, as some of their descendants do at this day. The Slavonian colonists, establishing themselves along the banks of the rivers, made the forest recede before their industry; and the fields so obtained, being enriched by the vegetable decay, still exhibit a surprising degree of fertility. Further north, where the plain declines to the Frozen Sea, the climate is too severe for tillage, and almost for vegetation. Step by step the trees disappear, till the marshy meadow supports only rushes and moss.

The forest, though diminished by the consumption of centuries, still extends over a district as large as Spain; including the Northern and Ural provinces, with parts of the Novgorod and Kostroma governments. The governments of Petersburg, Nijni-Novgorod, Vladimir, Riazan, and Tambof, are also extensively wooded. Westward the forest region extends through White

Russia and Lithuania, and more partially to the Baltic provinces. Little Russia, again, and the Crimea, are possessed of large and valuable forests. The administration of the woods is an important department of the Imperial government. The Institute established at Petersburg employs a large staff of scientific officials in thinning the denser portions, restoring the growth where the consumption has been too rapid, and even planting out the plains.

The trees to the north are mostly pine, fir, larch, and cedar. To the west the pine is the prevalent growth, mixed, however, in both quarters with alders, aspens, and magnificent birch trees. Southward the alder and aspen are replaced by the maple, ash, silver poplar, lime, and oak. Entire forests of lime exist in the government of Kostroma, and others of oak in that of Kasan.

2. Below the forest lies the central table-land of *Great Russia*, extending from the Urals to Smolensk, and including an area of 18,000 square miles, with its hardy and enterprising population of sixteen millions. This open and somewhat sterile plain contains the ancient capital of Moscow, and may be considered as the mother country of the nation; it is also the seat of most of its manufacturing and commercial industry. The poverty of the soil seems to have discouraged that agricultural development from which other nations mostly received the first impulse to extension. The disadvantages of nature might doubtless have been overcome by the introduction of manure, and by an enlightened system of farming; but the genius of the Russian people preferred to devote itself to trade and manufactures, and throughout the empire agriculture is still almost wholly neglected. The numerous population collected

in Great Russia would accordingly have been unable to subsist without the aid of the forests, on the one hand, and of the more fertile region which lies below them on the other.

3. *Little Russia*, and the districts along the Volga as far as the edge of the desert, seem to be provided expressly to meet this want. This lower level is the site of the celebrated "black earth"—a soil which has no equal for richness and fertility in the world. Over a "belt of country twice as large as France wheat crops succeed one another, in luxuriant abundance, year after year for a century, without fallow or manure. The labour of cultivation is confined to scratching the surface with a light plough, and the ashes of the straw and dung, which serve for fuel in the absence of wood, are all that is returned to the soil. The Malo or Little Russian of the present day often leads the nomad and pastoral life of his Slavonian ancestors, journeying from one verdant spot to another in a long waggon, and finding his wants amply supplied by the hand of nature, with little labour of his own.

4. South and east of these productive districts lies the region of the *steppes*—for centuries past the haunt of the Kossack tribes with their numerous flocks and herds. The boundless plain degenerates towards the Caspian and Azof into a desert full of salt lakes, but other portions exhibit luxurious savannahs and tracts susceptible of cultivation. These enormous spaces, extending to the foot of the Caucasus, stand ready to receive the surplus population of the agricultural and manufacturing regions above them. Colonies of Russians, Kossacks, Germans, and other races daily entering, are creating *oases* in the solitary plain, and it requires

only to be peopled and wooded to become one of the most flourishing countries in Europe.*

Not contented, however, with the natural advantages of these interdependent regions, Russia has further extended her sphere by important acquisitions on every part of her European frontier. From Sweden she has wrested the command of the Baltic Sea, from Poland a vast accession to her agricultural wealth, from Turkey and Persia, in addition to similar advantages, a huge step into the sunnier regions whither the instincts of the north seem to be ever tending.

The Swedish acquisitions comprise *Russian Lapland*, *Finland*, and the *Baltic provinces*. The first has a bleak and desolate area of about 10,000 square miles, thinly populated by a branch of the Tschoude or Finnish race who call themselves *Same*. The country differs from the rest of the Arctic forest region chiefly in its numerous lakes and mountains, and in the consequent greater degree of cold. The lower levels are covered with the spruce, Scotch fir, and other resinous trees: higher up and toward the Arctic Sea the spruce disappears. As the cold increases the fir begins to dwindle and fail: its place is supplied for a space by the birch, which yields in its turn to the *salix glauca* (a tree unknown in Britain), with other plants peculiar to the coldest climates, till vegetation entirely disappears on the line of perpetual frost. In the north of Lapland the sun remains below the horizon for six weeks together in winter, and as many above it in summer. The long night is relieved by an unusual brightness in the moon and stars, by a twilight sufficient to read by, and by the coruscations of the aurora borealis.

* *Études de la Russie*, by the Baron Auguste de Harthausen. Hanover, 1848.

The half-civilized tribes who inhabit this remote and dreary corner of Europe are coarsely clothed, and subsist for the most part by hunting and fishing, growing only a little corn in the valleys during their brief summer. Though nominally reckoned in the Russian church, they are as little acquainted with Christianity as with the arts of civilized life. Their existence would be insupportable but for the reindeer, their one substitute for horse, cow, goat, and sheep. The milk of this invaluable animal affords cheese, the flesh meat, and the skin clothing. Harnessed to the sledge it traverses the frozen lakes, rivers, and snowy plains, with amazing swiftness, and when dead the horns, bones, and sinews are all applied to important domestic uses.

“ Their reindeer form their riches ; these their tents,
Their robes, their beds, and all their homely wealth
Supply, their wholesome fare and cheerful cups.
Obsequious at their call, the docile tribe
Yield to the sled their necks, and whirl them swift
O'er hill and dale, heap'd into one expanse
Of marbled snow, as far as eye can sweep,
With a blue crust of ice unbounded glazed.”

The animal subsists on a bright yellow lichen, which grows near the fir forests, rather than in the colder region of the birch : a plain covered with this crop constitutes a Lapland meadow. Another lichen, called *bear's moss*, is made into mattresses, which for softness and elasticity are said to surpass any others in Europe.

Finland, called by the natives *Suomemna*, or the land of lakes and swamps, enjoys a less rigorous climate than the provinces on the Frozen Ocean. It is a table-land from 400 to 600 feet above the level of the sea, rising towards the north into a mountainous ridge of 3,000 to 4,000 feet high. The coasts are deeply indented with gulfs or *fiords*, sprinkled with a vast number of

rocky islets. The interior also is interspersed with a network of lakes, communicating with each other and with the Ladoga, and mostly abounding in islands. These waters, with the swamps and extensive forests, leave but a small portion of the surface for cultivation. The soil, too, is stony and poor, requiring a considerable supply of the manure procured by firing the forests and underwood. Still Finland is more productive than the opposite part of Scandinavia, and used to constitute the granary of Sweden.

The Fins of the western parts retain all the manners, sympathies, and religion of the Swedes, to whom they are still strongly attached; but in the districts east of Viborg, which have been longer in possession of Russia, the population is well-nigh assimilated to the dominant race. The Grand Duchy of Finland retains a constitution, with a diet and code of laws similar to the Swedish. Their troops are not intermixed with the rest of the Russian army; and their fleet, which is by far the best manned portion of the imperial navy, sails as a separate squadron under the Finnish flag. These natural distinctions preserve the memory of a connexion which seems little likely to be restored, unless by a further and perhaps not very distant conquest. The Aland Isles, now the western limit of Russian territory, are not more than twenty-five miles distant from the Swedish coast; and the Gulf of Bothnia, which for the moment separates the impoverished kingdom from her gigantic neighbour, affords a road across its frozen surface, which was safely traversed by a Russian army in 1809.

On the southern side of the Gulf of Finland the *Baltic provinces* prolong the Russian coast as far as Memel, where the Niemen constitutes the boundary with Prussia. These possessions largely augment the

supply of timber, corn, and cattle, for the markets of Petersburg, and for export to other countries. Their greatest value, however, lies in the development they impart to the maritime instincts of the empire. With prodigious internal resources, Russia is singularly deficient in the important advantage of a sea coast, and all her energies have long been directed to remedying this defect. This was the object of Peter the Great in conquering a site for his new capital at the head of the Finland Gulf. That narrow strait, guarded by the powerful fortresses of Bomarsund, Sweaborg, and Cronstadt, forms the cradle and the home of the Russian navy. The provinces below supply an extension of coast, which though affording but few harbours and only one navigable river, contributes greatly to the political and commercial interests of the nation. At Riga, Revel, and Memel, a considerable export trade is carried on in oak plank, masts and fir of the finest quality, hemp, flax, corn, hides, bones, bristles, wool, &c. The Baltic provinces were anciently subject to the Teutonic knights, and the population is still German far more than Russian: they retain the Lutheran religion, together with many of their own laws and institutions.

The divisions called *White Russia* and *Lithuania* were anciently the constant battle-field of Russian and Polish tribes, and alternately possessed by either nation. They passed to the present empire, together with the governments of Volhynia and Podolia in Little Russia, by the partition of Poland. This latter kingdom comprehended in itself, on a smaller scale, most of the distinguishing features of Russian topography. The northern portion is still covered with spacious forests, whose produce is floated in rafts down the rivers to the Baltic and the Black Sea. The woods are broken by lakes and marshes

of considerable extent, and the remainder of the level surface is diversified by fertile corn lands, savage steppes, rich pastures, and sandy wastes. Vast quantities of corn are produced in the southern districts of Podolia, Volhynia, and the Ukraine.

The limited portion of the kingdom, which still bears the title of *Poland*, is inferior to the rest both in climate and soil. The cold in winter is as great as in Sweden, while in summer the heat sometimes rises to 120° of Fahrenheit. These extremes, as well as the humid atmosphere which prevails through a large portion of the year, are attributable to the number of lakes, dreary swamps, and dense forests which cover nearly half the surface. The open soil is mostly thin and sandy, or sandy loam, yielding only a moderate crop of wheat once in nine years. Toward the Vistula, however, there are extensive tracts of clayey loam, which, when properly managed, produce excellent returns of wheat and oats.

The provinces of *New Russia*, acquired from Turkey, are valued, both as augmenting the profitable territory of the empire, and as advancing its borders to the long-coveted coasts of the Black Sea. In the upper part of these provinces the steppes are clothed with luxuriant grass as high as a man. Here horses, sheep, cattle, hogs, and goats are reared in vast numbers, and much improvement has been made in the breeds of the two former, which are found wild in Bessarabia. Bees, too, are abundant, and the silkworm has been introduced with marked success. Immense forests exist in Kherson and the Crimea. The southern portion of the latter country has been described as a paradise upon earth.* The en-

* "The ever-verdant laurel grows beside the olive, the pomegranate, the fig, or the date-tree, which might have been brought to the country in ancient

thusiasm of travellers however received a sad correction in the recent experience of the British army. Still it is certain that this country was anciently the granary of the Athenian republic; and as its natural fertility is not abated, it would assuredly yield ten times its present produce if sufficiently populated. The Tartars, who now constitute the bulk of the inhabitants, have but recently laid aside their migratory habits, and do no more than tend their enormous herds and flocks. The superiority of the climate is attested by the vines, olives, figs, mulberries, pomegranates, and oranges which flourish in the valleys and on the slopes of the southern mountains. The northern part, however, is an exposed and unhealthy steppe, clothed in some parts with rich pasture, but interspersed with heath, salt lakes, and unwholesome marshes.

Bessarabia, with its fertile soil and population of half a million, is still more valuable in a political point of view; it carries the Russian empire into the heart of a people connected by race and religion, and enables it to claim the right of protecting the kindred provinces still nominally subject to the Ottoman Porte. The Pruth, which forms the existing frontier, is easily crossed; and whenever the Russians shall again pass the Danube and advance into Bulgaria, they will find themselves marching through a sympathizing population to the capital of an exhausted and helpless foe.

Constantinople is yet more formidably menaced by the

times by Greek colonists. The simple life of the good Tartars, their cottages cut in the solid rock and concealed by the thick foliage of the surrounding gardens, the flute of the shepherd, his flocks scattered on solitary hills, remind the stranger of the golden age. The traveller leaves the people with regret, and envies the destiny of mortals ignorant of war, the frauds of trade and luxury, accompanied with all its vices." These are the words of the learned Pallas, who left the court of Petersburg to spend the remainder of his days in the Crimea. — *Malte Brun*, Book civ.

naval development afforded to Russia in the possession of the Black Sea. The mouths of the Dnieper, Bug, and Dniester, in her own territory, and her interest in the Danube in right of the Pruth, constitute a vast addition to her maritime resources. A great commerce has sprung up with extraordinary rapidity at Odessa; and the arsenals of Nicolaief and Sebastopol, only sixty hours' sail from Constantinople, offer still more striking evidences of the enormous power which has passed into the hands of Russia.

The entire surface of European Russia is computed at 500 millions of *deciatines*, of which 180 millions are covered by forest, and 120 millions are waste, including heaths, marshes, lakes, rivers, and roads. Of the remainder, 90 millions are cultivated lands, 60 millions meadow, and 50 millions pasture. The products vary, of course, with the soil and climate. Rye is produced in larger quantity than any other grain, and is the common food of the peasantry, who value their black bread far above the delicacies of other nations. Next to rye are oats; and these two crops taken together are supposed to be more than double the value of all the other grains. The greatest quantity of wheat is produced in the governments of Orel, Kasan, Nijni-Novgorod, Pensa, Tambof, and Kursk. Flax and hemp are extensively cultivated. Potatoes and hops succeed everywhere. Tobacco is an important article in the southern provinces, and beet-root is largely grown for sugar, especially in the government of Kief.

Horses and horned cattle are more abundant than in any other European country. ° A *khan* of a nomadic tribe will sometimes possess 10,000 horses. Every peasant owns his few head of cattle, and even a beggar is seldom without a cow or a goat. Speaking generally,

however, these animals are small, coarse, bony, and ill-shaped. There is a fine breed of oxen in some of the Polish provinces, and the horses are very superior in the south.

The rearing and management of bees are more attended to in Russia than in any other part of Europe: some tribes in Kasan make it their chief pursuit. Wild bees are still more plentiful than the domesticated, and there are individuals among the Baschkirs, who possess a hundred hives in their gardens and a thousand in the forests. In many parts honey is used instead of sugar, and the export of wax is very considerable.

The mineral wealth of the empire is great. Gold to the value of more than a million and a half sterling is produced from the Ural and Altai mountains, and from the washings of the auriferous sands which border most of the Siberian rivers. Iron of excellent quality abounds in the Ural mountains, and is exported at a high price. The annual produce amounts to 200,000 tons of pig iron and 120,000 tons of bar iron. This metal is found also in some other parts of Russia, and bog iron is common in the marshy tracts. Still the supply is inadequate to the wants of the population; and owing to the ruinous policy which excludes foreign iron, the price is so high to the home consumer that nine-tenths of the carts and carriages have their wheels of wood: even in the neighbourhood of Petersburg and Moscow the peasantry cannot afford iron to shoe their horses. The free admission of this indispensable article from other countries "would do ten times more to accelerate agricultural and manufacturing improvements than all the other incentives which it is in the power of the government to administer." *

* M'Culloch's Geog. Dict., Vol. II., 610.

Coal has been found on the shores of the Azof and in some other localities, but it has hitherto been wrought only to a small extent, and this valuable mineral appears to be deplorably scarce in Russia. Salt mines and springs are worked in Orenburg, Saratof, and the Crimea. They produce 500,000 tons annually, and about 120,000 tons are imported (chiefly from England) into the western provinces.

To the east of the Sea of Azof, the cessions of Turkey and the subjugation of independent tribes have advanced the Russian dominions to the boundary line of Europe on the crest of the Caucasus, while the acquisitions from Persia extend the empire far down on the Asiatic side of the mountains. These countries, partaking of the characters of both the quarters of the globe in which they are geographically situated, will be most conveniently described in connexion with each other.

The extent and elevation of the Caucasian range are but imperfectly ascertained. According to the best authorities, it reaches from Anapa on the Black Sea to Baku on the Caspian, a distance of nearly 700 miles in a straight line, and above 800 if the windings of the mountains be followed. The breadth of the range is computed at 350 miles at the western extremity and 250 at the eastern, the included area being not less than 100,000 square miles. The highest peak soars to an altitude of 17,785 feet, or more than 2000 feet above Mont Blanc.* The vegetation of the Caucasus is exuberant. Nearly every tree, fruit, grain, and flower found between the tropics and the pole is indigenous, or may be raised, within its limits. Arable land of excellent quality lies at the base; the mountain sides and

* Other writers make the Elboors, which is the highest summit of the Caucasus, only 5900 feet above the level of the Black Sea.—*Malte Brun*, Book xxv.

higher plains are clothed with magnificent forests, and even to the very top a luxuriant and varied vegetation is seen mingling with the snows of centuries.

Game of every description abounds in the woods and plains. Sheep with a long and valuable wool are numerous; and the forests are one of the homes of the wild cattle.

Though popularly believed to be rich in the precious metals, these mountains, as far as they have yet been explored, contain only a yellow worthless metal called cat-gold, with some iron, copper, saltpetre, sulphur, and a considerable quantity of lead. In this poverty of mineral treasures they resemble the Alps; they differ in the entire absence of lakes, of which not a single specimen has been discovered. Lava with other volcanic substances are common, and mud volcanoes exist in various parts; but igneous eruptions are unknown, and their former existence is doubtful.

The importance and mystery attached to these mountains in all ages arise partly from the descent of the human race from Mount Ararat (which, though not properly a part of it, is connected with the chain), and partly from their restraining and commanding the passage of the northern nations into the sunny regions of Asia. They contain but few passes, of which the principal, and only frequented one, is nothing but a ravine cut by the river Terek through precipitous walls of porphyry and schist. The path is carried along abysses 10,000 feet in depth, and subject both to avalanches and floods from the melting snows, which carry everything before them. Notwithstanding these obstacles, the Russians have constructed a carriage road through the defile, the entire length of which, from Mosdok to Gory, is about 120 miles. In the narrowest and highest

part of the gorge stands the old castle of Dariel, and here the rocks approach so close on either hand, that, according to Pliny, the opening was closed by an iron gate. There is another pass to the east, but little known, and probably open only to hunters and in summer. A third at Derbend, near the Caspian, is rendered difficult by the swampy nature of the ground. A Russian army, which attempted to pass round the western extremity on the Black Sea, met with similar difficulties, and was obliged to return by ship.

The Caucasus is the seat of the aboriginal race which, from its superior beauty of form and feature, has been taken to present the best type of the European, and indeed of the human, family. Of the five varieties into which Blumenbach and other eminent naturalists divide mankind, the Caucasian is the first; and though it is not to be supposed that all the nations of Europe are actually descended from the existing race of mountaineers, yet it is certain they still present the highest example of physical form and feature. It is remarkable, however, that while European in body the Caucasians are altogether Asiatic in mind: with the exception of the Armenians, none have made the slightest progress in civilization.

As in the early stages of society in other parts of the world, a great variety of tribe and language exists in these mountains and valleys. Seven languages, radically different, with as many nations, are enumerated, besides the Tartars who may be regarded as foreigners. Of these the principal are the Circassians, or Tcherkessians*, on the European side, and the Georgians on the

* *Tcherkessia* is a Tartar word, literally meaning *cut the road*, that is, a highwayman or robber, one who makes the communications unsafe. On the Caucasus itself these people are called *Kassaks*. Their own name for themselves is *Adige*.

Asiatic. Yet other neighbouring nations are still powerful, and the subdivisions of tribe and dialect are innumerable. A strong resemblance, however, pervades the habits and manners of all, except the Georgians, who are a little more civilized. They exhibit the courage, hospitality, and predatory habits of the Arabs and other semi-barbarous people; but though in possession of a country more favourably situated than Switzerland, they have made absolutely no progress either in arts or arms, and continue as ignorant of letters as in the days of Herodotus.

The subjugation of such barbarians, even to the imperfect civilization of Russia, can only be regarded as a gain to humanity. Its greatest scandal, the slave trade, has been already prohibited, though it is still secretly continued by the natives. From a melancholy union of physical beauty with a low state of moral feeling, these countries have been infamous in all ages for the atrocious traffic in women. The slave markets of Turkey derive their chief supply from this quarter, and not only by means of capture at sea, or by purchase of prisoners taken in the wars of one tribe against another, but by open bargain with the very parents of the unhappy victims. The martial and high-spirited chief who would not hesitate a moment to slay the man who should violate his barbarous ideas of honour, has neither shame nor compunction in selling his maiden daughter to the purveyor of a Mussulman seraglio.*

The mountain region terminates to the north in the steppes of the Volga and the Don. The slopes on this side

* It would appear that the female slaves were chiefly brought from the Asiatic side of the mountains, the northern tribes dealing mostly in males, for the supply of the Mameluke and other slave troops of Turkey and Egypt. The prohibition of this traffic is said to be the principal cause of the long resistance to the Russian power.

are mostly occupied by the Circassians, who in extending their arms over the Abasians, obtained also possession of the western face of the mountains, along with the coast of the Black Sea. The Abasians having previously invoked Russian aid against their conquerors, it may be concluded that, by the recent submission of Schamyl, Russia has secured the whole country from the Straits of Kertch to the Turkish frontier in the neighbourhood of Batoum. The European side of the Caucasus is colder and less fertile than the Asiatic. Nothing resembling a city or walled town is to be met with; the Circassians still live in tents or mud-built villages, easily abandoned and renewed. The chiefs engage only in hunting or war; in the other classes there is little of the division of labour which obtains in an organized community, but every man is his own carpenter, weaver, carver, and shepherd. Christianity, though early introduced, has made little practical way. Mohammedanism became the general profession after the subjugation of the country by the Ottoman Porte, but the rude customs and traditions of the several tribes are practically more respected than any religion. Circassia is famous for its horses, which are as good, and as jealously preserved, as those of Arabia.

The Russian provinces to the south of Caucasus include Mingrelia, Immeritia, Georgia, Gulistan, and Daghistān, a part of which last recrosses the boundary into Europe. The slope of the mountains is more gradual on this side, being divided into table-lands and terraces, interspersed with valleys and undulating plains of great extent, watered by abundance of rivulets. The principal river is the Kur, which rises in the Ararat range, a little north-west of Kars, and falls into the Caspian at the Gulf of Kizil Agatch. On this river stands

Tiflis, the capital of Georgia and of the whole Caucasian dominion. This was anciently the great thoroughfare of the commerce between Europe and Asia; and the trade has been extensively revived since the Russian occupation. The soil of Georgia being rich and fertile, the inhabitants are chiefly employed in agriculture and rearing cattle. Wheat, rice, barley, maize, millet, hemp and flax, are among the most generally cultivated articles. Cotton grows wild. The excellence of the melons, pomegranates, and other fine fruits is notorious, but the most valuable product is wine, of which the Georgians have the reputation of being the greatest drinkers in the world. It is strong and full-bodied, though want of care in its manufacture and treatment spoils it as an article of trade. The best description costing but four cents a bottle, the home consumption is enormous: a common labourer is said to demand four bottles for his daily allowance!

The Georgians reside in towns, and have long acknowledged a fixed form of policy. A monarchy, under the Jewish family of Bagratides, lasted from the eighth century to the death of the last prince in 1799; yet the civilization is very imperfect, and agriculture, arts, and education are in the lowest condition.

On the west coast of the Caspian the Russian boundary descends as low as Chilivan, which is little more than 200 miles in a straight line from Tehran, the modern capital of Persia. From this point Russia possesses all the western coast to the north as far as the Emba, together with a few forts and stations on the eastern or Tartar coast. The commerce of the Caspian is entirely in her hands, but its navigation is rendered dangerous by violent storms rushing down from the mountains,

while the countries which border it are comparatively of little importance to trade.

The Caspian divides the Transcaucasian provinces from the northern and larger portion of Asiatic Russia, called *Siberia*. This extensive country is separated from Russia in Europe by the Ural mountains, and by a river of the same name which descends to the Caspian through an enormous plain, extending from the Lower Volga to the foot of the Altai range. On one side of this river is the desert of Astrakhan, on the other stretch the boundless steppes of the Kirghis Tartars. Its usually solitary and silent shores are thronged at the proper season by thousands of Kossacks in quest of sturgeon and other fish, vast quantities of which are transported to Petersburg. From the Ural river the Russian frontier extends eastward along the Caspian Sea to the Emba, and thence across the steppe, in a north-easterly direction, to the foot of the Altai mountains, and the newly acquired territory on the Amoor. This river now constitutes the line of separation from the Chinese empire, and continues the boundary eastward to the Sea of Okhotsk. Being the only river that falls into the Pacific, it forms the single channel for the productions of central Asia to the sea. Though closed by frost during seven months of the year, its acquisition is an important gain to Russia. The territory on its northern bank abounds both in mineral and agricultural produce, and is watered by hundreds of streams flowing into the Amoor. The climate is good, the most southerly point being in 42° N. lat., 80° E. long. Though only in the last year ceded by China, numerous Russian settlements already exist along the river, and defensive works of considerable magnitude are being constructed at the new town of Nicolaiofsk. Magnificent forests of

oak, elm, and pine are at hand; coal fields also are reported. The trading caravans extend as far as Bokhara, Khokan, and Tashkend.* The *Altai*s have a length of above 2000 miles, and a breadth of from 300 to 700 miles. They are but little explored, but are known to attain an elevation in parts of 10,000 feet. The chain is continued northward along the shores of the Okhotsk, under the name of the Aldan mountains, to Behring's Straits, and through the peninsula of Kamschatka, where are volcanoes rising from above 8000 to 16,000 feet above the sea. The eastern and northern limits of Siberia are described by the Seas of Okhotsk and Kamschatka, Behring's Straits, and the Arctic Ocean.

The interior is one immense plain inclining from the south, and so open throughout its vast extent to the blasts and storms of the Frozen Ocean. A large portion lies within the frigid zone, and the remainder is exposed by the conformation of the ground to a degree of cold unknown to the same latitudes in Europe.

Till the acquisition of the Amoor, the situation of Siberia was equally unfavourable in regard to its communications with the rest of the world. Its gigantic rivers roll their waters either into the Frozen Ocean or into the Caspian or other inland lake. This enormous expanse of territory was thus without a single outlet for its productions. The latter, indeed, are confined to the produce of the mines and forests; the vegetation supplies not a single article of trade, though the country abounds in a variety of wild fruits, which are made into cordials for domestic use. Vast portions of the soil are wholly barren; and though the southern parts contain districts of extraordinary fertility, the population is too scanty and uncivilized to cultivate them with effect.

* Atkinson's Travels in Upper and Lower Amoor, 1860.

Siberia is still reamed by wild tribes, supporting their numerous flocks on its extensive pastures. The Tartars, once strong enough^o to overwhelm European Russia, have long been divided, and reduced to pay tribute. The European inhabitants consist only of exiles with the troops and civil officers compelled to reside there; the manufactures accordingly are comparatively few, and of recent introduction.

The Siberian waters are extensive, though, for the reasons already given, of little national value. The *Baikal* is a lake or inland sea, 366 miles in length by from 20 to 50 miles in breadth. The water is fresh and transparent; it abounds in fish and in seals, of which 2000 are taken annually. The rivers are large and numerous, rising mostly in the southern mountains, and traversing the plain to the Northern Sea.

The most westerly and largest is the *Oby*, which falls into the gulf of that name after a course of 2000 miles, bearing with it the *Irtisch*, whose course is longer than its own. The *Yenisey*, though not so long, is a still more copious and majestic stream. It is formed by the confluence of several rivers, one of which passes through the Baikal Lake. Yet further to the east is the *Lena*, which has a course of 2000 miles from the lofty mountains at the north-west of the Baikal, and falls into the Icy Sea by five considerable mouths. These are three of the greatest rivers in Asia; they are fed by numerous affluents, and lesser but still more copious streams traverse the country beyond them. Many of them are shrouded in the densest forest; others rush through deep romantic clefts in the stony plain; and the banks are often rich in scenic effects which the painter seldom finds exceeded elsewhere.* Running chiefly

* Atkinson's Tour in Siberia, 78.

from south to north, however, while the course of traffic is in the transverse direction, these streams only retard communication by the difficulty of crossing them. The Lake of Baikal alone facilitates the transport of merchandise to and from China.

The forests, which cover a large part of Siberia, abound in animals provided against the severity of the climate by thick and glossy furs; and these are the most important articles of trade. The bear, lynx, wolf, squirrel of various kinds, beaver, otter, and all the numerous other specimens of animal life which throng the woods, are hunted for their skins. The most valuable are the black ermine, martin, and especially the sable, a species of weasel, once abundant in all the polar regions, but, in consequence of the numbers that have been taken, now plentiful only in Yakutsk and Karaschatka. Various contrivances are resorted to in order to capture the animals without injuring the fur. Several of them turn white in the winter.

The reindeer is also an inhabitant of Siberia, and is found wandering in herds even to the most southern parts of the country.

The minerals of Siberia include iron, copper, lead, gold, and silver, with a rich variety of precious stones. The mines are chiefly situated in the Ural and Altai ranges. The former contains the richest mining district in the empire, the capital of which is Ekaterinburg, a fortified town just within the Asiatic boundary, and commanding the passes into Siberia. The iron works are mostly planted on the banks of the Tchoussowaia and other mountain rivers, over whose waters the produce is floated down, through gorges and valleys of the most romantic appearance, to the Kama, which joins the Volga a little below Kasan. The barges used in the

transport are constructed in the mountain forest, being wholly composed of wood, and taken to pieces at the end of their destination. As they not unfrequently sink with their ponderous cargo, the decks are left unconnected with the sides, in order to form a raft for the boatmen on the occurrence of accidents. Foundries have been established at the iron works, where cannon and small arms are manufactured for Sebastopol and all parts of the empire. A couple of excellent rifles were recently manufactured at Neviansk for the small sum of 4*l.* 15*s.**

Large quantities of magnetic iron ore of the finest quality have been extracted in the neighbourhood of the Blagodats, two remarkable hills on the Asiatic side of the Urals. They present traces of two distinct eruptions of magnetic ore, the latter of which has cut through the great masses deposited by the former. The whole mountain, in fact, would appear to be one mass of iron.

Nijni Tagilsk presents another enormous mass of iron, 80 feet thick and 400 in length, which has apparently flowed down in a melted condition from fissures in the rocks. The smelting furnaces, forges, rolling mills, machine shops, and other works at this place, with their machinery, are on a magnificent scale. Many of the machines and tools are of English manufacture; and the works, which belong to one of the Demidoff family, are superintended by a native of the place who spent several years in one of the best establishments in Lancashire.†

Copper was discovered in the same neighbourhood in 1812. In addition to large returns of the metal, the mines produce great quantities of *malachite*, the beauties of which mineral were so lavishly illustrated in the works of art displayed at the Great Exhibition at London in 1851.* An enormous mass of this beautiful stalagmite,

* Atkinson's Siberia, 95

† Ibid. 78.

the deposit of many ages, was discovered quite recently at Tagilsk. It is supposed to contain 720,000 lbs. of pure solid malachite, and is estimated at 170,000*l.* in value. Sir Roderick Murchison, who visited this wonder of nature when first discovered, considers it to be of great geological interest, as affording satisfactory evidence of the real origin of malachite. He describes the substance as "the result of copper solutions emanating from all the porous, loose surrounding mass, and which, trickling through it to the lowest cavity upon the subjacent solid rock, have in a series of ages produced this wonderful subterranean incrustation."

The riches of the Ural mining districts are still probably but imperfectly explored. Some conjecture of their extent may be formed from the statement that the Demidoffs alone possess an estate nearly as large as all Yorkshire, throughout which "iron and copper ore appear to be inexhaustible. Platinum and gold are in the upper valleys, and malachite in enormous quantities, with porphyry and jasper of great beauty, and various coloured marbles. Their forests extend over more than 10,000 square versts, and are thickly covered with timber." *

Gold alluvium is found on the little streams in most of the valleys of this district. Its precious stones include emerald, amethyst, beryl, chriso-beryl, topaz, rose tourmaline, and garnets. The jaspers are in great variety; deep green, dark purple, violet, grey and cream colour. The porphyries are equally varied and of the most brilliant hues. These productions are cut and fashioned at Granikoi into gems and vases, not excelled in Europe; but the wages of a first-class workman are only 3*s.* 8*d.* a month, with 36 lbs. of rye

* Atkinson's Siberia, 81.

flour; *meat* he is never supposed to require. All precious stones, wherever found in Siberia, are the property of the emperor, but the illiberal treatment of the native lapidaries occasions many frauds. A few years since the admiration of the whole court of Petersburg was attracted by a set of magnificent emeralds worn by the consort of a German sovereign. On inquiry, the empress was astonished to be told that they came from Siberia. Search was immediately instituted, and a number of jewels were detected in private houses, for which the parties were severely punished. Since that time, however, very few emeralds of great value have been discovered.

The Ural gold mines mostly lie in the southern range, below Zlataoust, a town described as at once the Birmingham and the Sheffield of Russia. The steel made in this place has been manufactured into damascene arms, which are highly prized. Gold is found in large pieces in a valley watered by a stream called Tash Kuturgun: here several lumps of fifteen pounds' weight and upwards have been excavated. The Emperor Alexander, in 1824, personally assisted in digging up a piece which weighed 24 lbs. (Russian), and in 1843, another piece was obtained weighing 2 poods and 4 lbs., or more than 86 lbs. troy. The small hills generally are covered with an earthy alluvium richly impregnated with gold for a depth of 12 inches above the rock. The produce of this alluvium so much exceeds that of the mines, that in late years attention has been mostly given to the washings. Maias is the centre and capital of the gold districts of South Ural.

The Altai mountains produce silver, gold, copper, and lead. • The most valuable mines are those of silver at Zirianovsky; but as this ore is always found in places

destitute of wood, it requires to be transported to other parts to be smelted. The Zirianovsky silver mines are from 280 to 490 feet deep; their produce is conveyed in carts for more than 100 versts to the Irtysh, and thence floated and carried to Barnaoul, Pavlovsky, and other *zavods*, making a distance of 900 versts from the mines to the smelting works.

The total annual produce of the Altai silver mines is about 1000 poods, or more than 43,870 lbs. troy. It contains about 3 per cent. of gold, which is left to be extracted in the mint at Petersburg.

Gold mines have been opened in various parts of the Altai range, but latterly they have been almost abandoned for the superior results attained by washing the sands of the various rivers which flow from the northern slope of the mountains. Barnaoul on the Ob, and Krasnojarsk on the Yenisey, are the capitals of districts which at present are the most valuable of the auriferous regions in the Old World. The quantity of gold obtained from the Siberian washings in 1847 exceeded 1780 poods, or about 76,000 lbs. troy, which at 46*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* the lb. represents a value of more than three millions and a-half sterling.

The Yenisey is bordered in some parts by cliffs of white marble, as fine as that of Carrara, and in enormous quantity, but it rests untouched for want of the means of transport. The mountains also are rich in aquamarine, lapis lazuli, and other valuable stones.

The Sayansk range contains several extinct volcanoes, which at distant periods have scattered large beds of lava and scoræ over extensive districts. The wild and gloomy region around them is regarded with terror by the natives, as the abode of Shitan and his evil host. Boiling springs still exist in the Altai, near the snowy

peaks called Bielcuka, and communicate a fertility to the adjacent soil, contrasting curiously with the wintry aspect of all that lies beyond their influence.

The volcanic forces are active in Kamschatka, where not less than thirteen summits, with their craters and hot springs, have been observed and measured. The highest is Klutchewsky, which is 16,500 feet above the sea, and, in common with six others, emits continual smoke. This subterranean heat, however, has little or no influence on the climate, which is perhaps the coldest in the habitable globe. The natives seem to belong to the Mongol race, and are chiefly employed in hunting the sable, fox, and other fur-bearing animals (of which they export as many as 30,000 skins in the year), or in capturing and curing fish, seals, walruses, and whales. The eggs of the water-fowl, saturated with oil, constitute a principal article of their food.

In this peninsula, as well as some other parts of Siberia, dogs are trained to domestic uses, particularly for travelling. The breed resembles the English shepherd dog, and exhibits an equal degree of intelligence. Many of the Kamschatdales possess above twenty of these animals. When harnessed in pairs to the sledge and travelling in parties, the eagerness of the dogs, combined with the rivalry of the drivers, invests the journey with all the excitement of a race.

East Cape, the furthest extremity of Kamschatka and of Asia, is distant only thirty-six miles from Cape Prince of Wales, on the shores of America. The strait is frozen over every winter, presenting an easy passage to the natives of either coast. It was only, however, in the last century that the American shore was discovered to Europe. The honour is claimed by

Russia, in right of Vitus Behring, a German in the service of the Empress Catherine, who sailed from Kamschatka in 1728, to lay down the Asiatic shore. In a second voyage undertaken to explore the American side, he unfortunately perished, after establishing the existence of the strait which is called by his name. The discovery was completed by our own Captain Cook, in 1788. The Russians, however, affirm that the American coast was previously descried by a Kamschatdale Kos-sack, named Krupishef, who sailed along it for two days, and in virtue of his discoveries, they claim possession of the shore to the north of the 55th parallel, reaching inland to the 140th meridian of west longitude. The included area contains 17,500 square miles, it is bounded by the Rocky Mountains, the Arctic and the Pacific Oceans. A chain of trading settlements has been established along the coast and on the Aleutian islands, the capital of which is New Archangel. The chief article of export is the skin of the sea-otter, which is much valued in China.

The native Indians possess the distinctive characteristics of the *red men*, but exhibit an approach to the features of the Mongols which has been thought to connect them with the Kamschatdales on the other side of the strait.*

Such is an outline, rapidly sketched, of the existing Russian empire. The mean beginnings from which it sprang, and the fluctuations which have resulted in so

* On the much-disputed question of the origin of the American population, Malte Brun sums up the evidence as establishing beyond doubt three very early immigrations from Asia across the straits of Behring, by which the languages and features of the adjacent population have been largely affected, but without effacing the original character of a primitive American race, as ancient perhaps as any existing Asiatic one. The same authority describes the Aleutian islands as a single and unique chain, which may be compared to the piles of an immense bridge formerly joining the two continents. — Book lxxvi.

extraordinary a political combination, are without a parallel in the history of the world. They cannot fail to interest all who can discern, amid the rise and fall of nations, the hand of Him "who bringeth low and lifteth up."

CHAPTER II.

THE ANCIENT EMPIRE.

Early State of Sarmatia and Scythia—Slavi—Rise of the Russians—Name—Fins—Trading Camps—Kief—Novgorod—Scandinavians—Rurik—Slavonian Polity—Norman Princes—Oskold and Dir—First Invasion of Constantinople—Rurik's Empire—Oleg—Capture of Kief—Second Invasion of Constantinople—Southern Empire—Igor—Third Expedition to Constantinople—Olga—Sviatoslav—Invasion of Bulgaria—St. Vladimir—Varangian Martyrs—Search for a Religion—Constantine—Embassy to Constantinople—Church of St. Sophia—Discussion—Siege of Kherson—Baptism and Marriage of Vladimir—National Conversion—Character of the Monarch—Appanages—Grand Prince—Rebellion—Yaroslav the Great—Connexions—Conquests—Legislation—*Russkaya Pravda*—Comparison with Anglo-Saxon Laws—Scripture—Clergy—Celibacy—Lay Population—Boyards—Freemen—Serfs—Russian Bondage—Homicide—Pecuniary Mulets—Capital Punishment—Paper Code—Practical Defects—Extinction of Middle Classes—Municipal Turbulence—Novgorod—Death of Yaroslav—Decline of the Empire—Vladimir II.—Death-bed Admonitions—Removal of the Capital—Assassination of Andrew—Dissolution of the Empire—Feuds of the Princes—Mongol Invasion—Destruction of Vladimir—Death of Yuri—Mongol Conquest—"Golden Horde"—Two Centuries of Bondage.

THE early annals of Russia contain little to relieve the tedium attendant on tracing the ignoble contests of obscure and barbarous tribes. The territory from the Volga to the Dnieper was known in ancient geography by the name of *Sarmatia*: to the east all was massed under the wide and ill-defined appellation of *Scythia*. These countries, from the seventh to the twelfth century of the Christian era, swarmed with savages, of whom the historian is content to record that "their names are uncouth, their origin doubtful, their actions obscure. Their superstition was blind, their valour brutal, and the uniformity of their public and private lives was neither softened by innocence nor refined by policy." *

* Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, chap. iv.

One of the races thus described was known by the name of *Slavi* or *Slavenæ*, a designation assumed, with the vanity usual to barbarians, from a word in their own language signifying "glory." But their eventual subjugation to stronger rivals has degraded the appellation, in all the tongues of Europe, to the opposite signification of servitude.

The Slaves were known in Europe for some ages before the foundation of Rome, and largely contributed to its original population. Both the Greek and Latin languages exhibit elements derived from the Slavonian; and as these are found in terms which express the earliest wants of society, the connexion is thrown back to a period anterior to the formation of the classic tongues.

After many revolutions of fortune, the Slave population, which 'had collected itself on the banks of the Danube, 'was expelled by the Bulgarians (also of Slavonian descent), and again dispersed through Europe, about the middle or end of the seventh century. In this dispersion the Russian, Polish, Lithuanian, and Bohemian nations had their rise.* A portion of the fugitives found a new home on the banks of the Dnieper, the Volkhof, and the Neva, where they subsequently became known under the appellation of *Russians*. The name was not heard in Europe till the ninth century, and its origin is still involved in doubt. The authorities usually followed derive it from the *Rhozani*, a Gothic tribe early settled in Sarmatia. A still closer approximation is found in the *Borusc*i, whom ancient geography places near the source of the Volga, in the territory now constituting the government of Moscow.

* The Hungarians, also, have been assigned to the same origin, though Gibbon prefers to consider them as of Finnish descent.

Both appellations are probably classical amplifications of a vernacular monosyllable *Russ* — a conjecture confirmed by the equivalent *Ros*, the name by which they were always styled among the later Greeks. Some writers inform us that *Russ* has the signification of *Wanderer**, a designation highly applicable to the early Slave immigrants, as well as to the Russians of the present day. However this may be, the name is evidently too ancient to admit of the later derivations which have been attempted from *Rurik*, *Rossi*, and other Norman roots.†

At the time of the Slave immigration, the northern parts of Europe and Asia were widely but thinly populated by numerous subdivisions of the *Fins*, a branch of the Turkish, or westernmost, hordes of Scythia. Below them were scattered both Mongols and Mantchus, sprung from the middle and eastward divisions of the same great nursery of nations. All these contributed their heterogeneous elements to the aboriginal population. All were savage idolaters down to the end of the tenth century. They carried off their wives by force, cut their hair, and reduced them to slavery. They lived in tents, or log-huts but a little better; the ground was the usual bed; the skins of their numerous flocks, or of wild beasts, with the fur inside, furnished a rude but effective clothing; and horse-flesh was deemed the choicest food. .

The first agency to diffuse a measure of refinement and stability among these barbarians was the love

* Meredith's *Life of Peter the Great*.

† Mr. Bell suggests *Russalki*, the name of certain nymphs in the Slavonian mythology; but this only supports the existence of a primitive *Russ* from which both people and deities took their designation. The same remark applies to another modern etymology, *Russini*, the alleged appellation of an ancient tribe in Galicia.

of trade, which 'actuated the Slavonian population even more than that of war. For this purpose they were accustomed to assemble in stationary camps, which doubtless supplied the origin of the first Russian settlements.* The oldest of these was Kief, a town on the Dnieper, which was perhaps wrested from some previous inhabitants, to be made the capital of a Slavonian state. The new proprietors, in the indulgence of their favourite pursuit, not only followed the stream to the mouth of the river, but, ascending its course, and passing up its smaller tributaries, reached the Oder and so effected a communication with the Baltic. The trade thus opened between the northern and southern seas contributed greatly to the resources of Kief, where the commerce of both continued for a long time to be exchanged."

Second only in date, and superior in wealth and pretensions, was Novgorod, situated on the Lake Ilmen, at the corner where the short river Volkhof unites its waters to the Lake of Ladoga, and by the Neva to the Baltic Sea. The name, which signifies "New Market," indicates an older city, probably taken from another tribe. It was governed by a republican municipality, and conducted a trade with both sides of the Baltic, as well as with Constantinople, Persia, and India, which so augmented its resources that the haughty merchants were wont to demand of the rude tribes about them, "Who shall resist God and the great Novgorod?" This arrogant and blasphemous proverb, conceived in the true spirit of the vainglorious Slave, was destined to endure a humiliating reverse. The wealth collected within their walls excited the cupidity of the neigh-

* The custom still lingers in the Gastinoë, or general bazaar, to be found in most Russian towns.

bouring savages, and the "merchant princes" were driven to invoke foreign assistance for its protection.

The regions of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway then swarmed with that adventurous race which has since been renowned throughout the world under the appellation of Northmen or Normans. "Piracy was the exercise, the trade, the glory, and the virtue of the Scandinavian youth. Impatient of a bleak climate and narrow limits, they started from the banquet, grasped their arms, sounded their horn, ascended their vessels, and explored every coast that promised either spoil or settlement. The Baltic was the first scene of their naval achievements. They visited the eastern shores, the silent residence of Finnic and Slavonian tribes, and the primitive Russians of the Lake Ladoga paid a tribute, the skins of white squirrels, to these strangers, whom they saluted with the title of Varangians, or Corsairs." *

These dangerous neighbours readily obeyed the summons which invited them to the succour of Novgorod, but as usual the auxiliaries were not so easily dismissed when the savages had been repelled. A marriage contracted between the daughter of a chief magistrate and one of the Swedish kings led (like that of Vortigern and Rowena in the legendary history of Britain) to the result which it was designed to avoid. Rurik, a son of this marriage, born at Upsal, A. D. 830, settled at Ladoga, where he built a tower defended by ramparts of earth, and either by invitation or by force he obtained possession of Novgorod, A. D. 862.

One account relates* that an embassy was sent to Sweden to solicit rulers from the *Varyaga-Russe* to

* Decline and Fall. The title used by the Russian writers is *Varyaga-Russe*.

come and reign in Novgorod, then a prey to contending factions. The legates laid their request before the Scandinavian prince in these laconic terms: "Our land is large and rich, but there is no order in it; go thou and govern it." These emissaries doubtless indicate a defeated party in the city, who sought to strengthen themselves, or at least to overwhelm their adversaries, by foreign arms. Other writers represent Rurik as advancing from his citadel at Ladoga against the disorganized city, and capturing it without a siege.

His brothers, Sinaw and Trouvor, were established at the same time, the first in Biclo Ozero, a town on the northern coast of the White Lake, and the other in the ancient town of Izborsk, in the province of Pskov. These situations enabled the Norman warriors to undertake the military defence of the Russian villages to the north-east and south respectively. The old Slavonian rule was half patriarchal and half republican, such as is still represented in the rural communities of Russia. The towns were few, built of wood, and only distinguished from the villages by enclosures of timber and earth. The inhabitants of both were possessed of equal rights. The family was ruled and represented by its oldest member; every higher functionary was elected in the general assembly of these natural heads, called the *vetche*, and in the same local senate the affairs of the community were managed. The defence of this simple polity was entrusted to the Northmen, with the title of *kniaz*, or prince, signifying not a sovereign but a military commander. The Russians relinquishing their right of election to this office, it became hereditary in the family of Rurik, and its holders surrounded themselves with a band of men-at-arms, which was called the *droujina*. These military forces were not at first

designed to affect the internal government, which continued to be conducted by the *vetché* and its elective president the *possadnik*, or mayor. Rurik's interference with this polity is recorded to have produced an insurrection at Novgorod, in which one Vadime the Brave was slain by the Norman's own hand.

Sinaw and Trouvor dying without issue, Rurik united their *droujinas* with his own, and undertook the defence of the whole territory. His protection being afterwards solicited, in like manner, for the settlement of Kief, he committed the charge of that place to his stepson Oskold, with whom was associated a chieftain named Dir. Other accounts give these as the names of two corsairs who, quitting Rurik in quest of a kingdom, conquered Kief for themselves. Once masters of this commanding situation, and of the river which it controlled, the Northmen were not long in descending its course, coasting the Black Sea, and penetrating into the Bosphorus. In the absence of the emperor, they even occupied the port of Constantinople, whence they were compelled to retire by a tempest, which the superstition of the Greeks ascribed to the Virgin Mary.

Rurik died at Novgorod after a reign of seventeen years, the reputed founder of an empire whose capital, after many wanderings, returned, 800 years later, to the vicinity of his first fortress in the marshes of Ladoga. His sway extended from Archangel to the borders of Smolensk, and from Kostroma to Riga, including the Baltic coast from the Dwina to Viborg. His dominions and infant heir were left to the guardianship of his brother-in-law Oleg, a man whose share in the erection of the empire was hardly second to that of the founder himself. Alive to the importance of Kief, he proceeded thither with a small force, sufficient, however, to

capture Smolensk and some smaller towns by the way. On reaching Kief he assumed the character of a merchant, and having persuaded the two chiefs to come out to an interview unarmed, cast away his disguise, exclaiming, "You are no princes; but here," pointing to the infant Igor, "is the blood of Rurik, and I am his kinsman." The chiefs perished under the daggers of his followers, and Oleg became master of the city, which he immediately proclaimed the mother and capital of the Russian dominions.

This atrocious act of treachery was prompted, not more by the commanding situation and natural advantages of the town, than by its commerce with Constantinople. The Russian traders had seen the magnificence, and tasted the luxury, of the city of the Cæsars; their reports stimulated the cupidity of their savage countrymen, and having subdued or won over several of the Slavonian, Finnish, and Lithuanian tribes in his neighbourhood, Oleg united their forces in a project, which would appear to be in every age the ultimate object of Russian ambition. He embarked an army of 80,000 men on board of 2,000 war canoes, which, though hollowed out of single trunks, were built up with planks to the height of twelve feet, and to the length of sixty. They were without decks, and propelled both by sails and oars. In these rude vessels the barbarians descended the Dnieper to the cataracts which impede its navigation for a space of fifteen leagues. Here disembarking, and dragging their ships to land, they conveyed them along the bank to the narrower and more rapid stream that runs below. Having thus reached the mouth of the river in safety, they coasted the Euxine, and, to the astonishment of the Greeks, appeared before the harbour of Constantinople:

The Emperor Leo ordered the entrance to be closed by a heavy chain of iron ; but Oleg, once more landing his boats, placed them on wheels or rollers, and with expanded sails conveyed his warriors over the isthmus to the very gates of the city. His progress was marked by all the atrocities with which savages usually seek to strike terror to the hearts of their enemies, and they produced their due effect on the effeminate Greeks. Oleg was admitted into the capital, after hanging his shield over the golden gate for a trophy of his conquest ; and a treaty was concluded, binding the Greeks to pay tribute to the flag of the corsairs, and to remit all duties on Russian merchandise. Oleg returned to Kief laden with spoils, and soon after, under threats of renewing the invasion, extorted a second treaty from the emperor, by which the Russian merchants were invested with still larger advantages. Such boons were eagerly accepted by the Slave population, whose wandering and irregular habits were unable to resist the Norman hardihood and discipline. Their wooden clubs and shields were no match for the helmet, sword, and cuirass, forged from the mines of Sweden. They gladly yielded up the government to rulers whose arms could open such unhopèd-for avenues to the national spirit of commerce.

These considerations seconding the triumphs of his sword rendered Oleg the founder of an empire in the south not inferior to that of Rurik in the north. He was succeeded by his nephew Igor, who had further conciliated the native population by a marriage with Olga, a Slavonian lady of great beauty, though, according to some, the daughter of a ferryman. After pursuing for some time the subjugation of the independent tribes, Igor became ambitious of imitating his prede-

cessor by another visit to Constantinople. Forces were readily procured for an expedition which was avowedly one of spoliation ; but the numbers were undoubtedly magnified by the boasts of the invaders, and the fears of the Greeks. Ten thousand barques are said to have transported a host of 400,000 savages to the object of their cupidity. In place, however, of open gates and a defenceless city, they were encountered by an army which enclosed the invaders, and atrocities of even a deeper dye than those of Oleg were avenged by a terrible massacre. Igor cut his way with great difficulty to his ships ; but being pursued by the Greek fire, a combustible which had the property of burning under water, scarcely a third of his armament escaped.

The next year Igor was again on his way to retrieve this disgrace, when he was met by the submission of the usurper Rومانus, who renewed the treaties made with Oleg, and pacified the barbarous host with adequate bribes. Flushed with this success, Igor turned his arms against the Drevlins, the last of the Slave tribes to submit to Scandinavian rule. He was slain in a foray against these people A.D. 945, and left his sceptre to Olga, as guardian for their infant son.

This princess, surnamed "The Wise," is celebrated as the first Christian ruler in Russia. Her name is enrolled at the head of the saints of the Russian church ; but the opening acts of her reign exhibit little of the evangelical spirit. The Drevlin prince who had slain her husband sent an offer of his own hand by way of compensation. This barbarous proposal she pretended to entertain, but at a feast prepared for the purpose, she caused the chief and all his retainers to be assassinated. Then, setting fire to their town, her soldiers fell on the inhabitants as they rushed out defenceless, and put

them to the sword without mercy. Proceeding with similar severity, Olga effected the complete subjugation of the Drevlins, and incorporated their territories with her own. It was not till after making these offerings to the double passions of revenge and ambition, that Olga began to think of Christianity, and repaired to Constantinople for baptism.

Neither her example nor her counsels seem to have produced much impression on her subjects, or on her son Sviatoslav. She resigned the sceptre to him in despair, and the rising state relapsed under one than whom a ruder barbarian never roamed the wilds of Tartary. He fed upon horse-flesh, hewed from the carcase by his own sword, and broiled upon its point. He slept on the ground, with a saddle for his pillow, a horse-cloth for his coverlet, and the sky for a canopy. Abandoning the seat of government at Kief, his delight was to traverse the neighbouring territories at the head of a host of ferocious savages in quest of rapine and spoil. The Kozans, who had seized on the eastern shores of the Euxine, and advanced to the Volga, were annihilated in a great battle with him about A.D. 966. His savage hordes were then hired out to the Greek emperor, who was not ashamed to purchase their assistance against his fellow-Christians in Bulgaria. The pagans poured into those fertile plains in a torrent of desolation. The towns on the Danube were seized, and, in defiance of his engagements with the emperor, the Russian proceeded to erect his conquests into a kingdom, of which he fixed the metropolis at Yamboly, then called Perciaslavetz. The Bulgarians, however, refused to surrender their liberties, and a new emperor chastised the invader's perfidy by besieging him in his capital, whence he finally drove him to the sea.

Attempting to ascend the Dnieper, he was waylaid at the cataracts by some of the barbarous tribes, and lost his life in the encounter. His skull was turned into a drinking-cup, inscribed with the insulting motto, "In trying to seize another's right thou hast lost thine own."

The Russian dominions were divided among the three sons of the deceased prince; but after a struggle, in which two of them perished by fratricide, they became again consolidated under Vladimir the youngest, born of a Slavonian serf-woman. His first act was to relieve himself of the Varangians who had aided him in the contest for the throne, by sending them to make their fortunes at Constantinople, while he privately advised the emperor to arrest and disperse them.

Vladimir then ordaining a solemn festival to the gods, a human victim was demanded for *Perune*. The choice having been made to fall on a Varangian youth, who was a Christian, the populace rushed to seize their victim. His father, however, coming to the rescue, the two defended themselves with their swords till both perished in the tumult. They are accounted the first martyrs in the Russian church, but they belonged to a foreign race, and seem to have fallen in self-defence, rather than in the confession of the gospel.

Vladimir soon wearied of these sanguinary rites, and began to inquire after some more worthy expiation for sin. He set out in quest of a religion. Greek and Latin priests, Mohammedans, and even Jews, received invitations to attend and explain their respective systems. After listening to all, the monarch declared to the Romanists that he could never be induced to submit himself or his people to a foreign pontiff; the Mussulman, he said, was no religion for the Russians, on account of its rigid prohibition of strong drink; and as

for the Jews—who would take up with a law and a people whom their own God had abandoned?

There remained but the Greeks, one of whom—a monk named Constantine—denounced in glowing language the sin and folly of idolatry, reasoning, like St. Paul before Felix, “of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come.” His eloquence was enforced by a picture of the last day, which powerfully impressed the barbarian prince. “Good to those on the right hand,” he repeated to his attendants, “and woe to all on the left.” The alarm became deep and general. It was agreed to send an embassy to the Christian capital, and inquire further respecting the new religion.

The ambassadors were gladly received by the emperors Basil and Constantine, who called on the patriarch to celebrate the liturgy in the church of St. Sophia with all the pomp of the Oriental ritual.* The simple majesty of that matchless edifice, flooded through its vast extent with light falling pure and unbroken on the gold and mosaic that coloured every part of the interior—the embroidered robes—the lighted tapers—and the long procession of the various orders of ecclesiastics, with the

* The church of St. Sophia (or the Eternal Wisdom) was erected in the sixth century by the Emperor Justinian, who, at the consecration, gave public thanks to God that he had been permitted to excel the temple of Solomon. It was constructed of brick cased with marble, and profusely enriched with gold and coloured marbles, jaspers, and porphyries, which were diversified with the skill of a painter. Eight porphyry columns from the temple of the Sun, and as many of green marble from the temple of Diana at Ephesus, attested the overthrow of heathenism. Every inch of the interior was covered with gold or mosaic, exhibiting, in the most brilliant colours, delineations of the Saviour, the Virgin, the saints, and angels. The vessels and vestments of the altar were of gold, enriched with gems; and the whole structure cost, at the lowest computation, above a million sterling. This magnificent edifice was converted into a mosque by the Turks on the very day of the capture of Constantinople; and the pictures have ever since remained under the plaster with which the Mussulmans sought to deface such idolatrous emblems. Their existence being discovered during some recent repairs, they were again concealed by the Sultan's order, to protect them from the indignant zeal of the Islamites.

sound of sweet voices singing alternately and in chorus, — produced their natural effect on the astonished barbarians. There is no need of the angelic vision with which the Byzantine chronicle embellishes the narrative; to do the ambassadors justice, their own report is free from supernatural pretensions. “When we stood in the temple we knew not whether we were in heaven, for there is no such sight to be seen upon earth. There, in truth, God has his dwelling with men, and we can never forget the beauty we saw there. No one who has once tasted sweets will afterwards take that which is bitter, nor can we who have witnessed the Christian worship any longer abide in heathenism.”

The boyards were already imbued with a favourable opinion of the Greek religion. “If it had been a bad one,” they remarked to Vladimir, “thy grandmother, Olga—the wisest of mortals—would never have embraced it.” The monarch’s resolution was taken on the spot, and executed in true corsair fashion. He determined to proceed once more at the head of his barbarians to the Christian capital, and literally “take the kingdom of heaven by force.” To many of his followers the carnal warfare promised treasures more acceptable than the spiritual riches. The Dnieper was again descended with the strange design of securing the advantages at once of this world and the next. Dropping his anchors at its mouth, Vladimir laid siege to Kherson, and his first prayer to the God of the Christians was for assistance to carry the town, that he might so obtain priests for the evangelisation of a benighted people. The city, however, defended itself for six months, and was only then surprised through the treachery of a priest within the walls, whose zeal for new triumphs to the church corrupted his allegiance to his country and his king.

The conqueror now demanded that his baptism should be accompanied by another ordinance of Christianity : this was nothing less than his marriage with a sister of the emperor. The humiliation was submitted to by the imperial Cæsar, rather than risk the nearer approach of so ardent a proselyte ; and the princess Anne made herself a sacrifice for the ransom of her country and the spread of her faith. The double rites were solemnized by the archbishop of Kherson with all the pomp that could content the vanity, and arrest the progress, of the royal neophyte. He adopted the mother of Christ as the special object of his devotion, and, after restoring Kherson to the emperor, returned with his bride to Kief. Here he dedicated a cathedral to the Virgin, endowed with the tithe of his revenues, and committed its government to the Syrian bishop Michael as first metropolitan of Russia.

After performing the baptism of his twelve sons, the Grand Prince proceeded with characteristic ardour to destroy the idols which he had before adored. The golden-bearded Perune, stripped of his ornaments and dragged at a horse's tail, was thrown into the Dnieper, after being well cudgelled by the soldiers. The floating log was followed for some distance by the people, who, either in jest or earnest, shouted to it to "*come out*;" but receiving no reply they submitted without further question to the royal mandate, and were baptized in companies by the Greek priests, while the monarch stood on the bank of the river in a transport of thanksgiving.*

* In commemoration of this event, a monastery was afterwards erected at a spot where the idol was cast ashore by the current, and named "*Vidoubetz*," or "*Come out*." At Novgorod, where the wooden deity was subjected to a similar immersion in the Volkhoff, tradition affirms that it actually rose at the cry of the people, and threw a staff among them, crying — "*I leave you that in remembrance of me.*" Hence the young people of that city were accustomed to perambulate the streets on a certain day, striking each other with sticks.

Vladimir appointed bishops in all the principal towns, and bestowed on them ecclesiastical jurisdiction according to the canons of the Greek church. Issuing forth in person, with his metropolitan, on missionary tours through the country, he reduced the majority of his subjects, with some of the adjacent tribes, to at least a nominal profession of Christianity. Idolatry, however, continued to linger in the remoter districts as late as the twelfth century.

A revolution of so extensive a character could hardly fail to procure its author the title of *saint*, from a church which owed to him its establishment and revenues. Eight centuries later, the most dissolute woman who ever mounted a throne instituted an order of *knighthood* in Vladimir's name, for the reward of distinguished civil services. His character was, perhaps, better appreciated by the empress than by the church. So far from attaining the eminence of a saint, the evidence falls short of proving him to be a spiritually minded Christian: but he was undoubtedly a great prince, dreaded in war and yet more successful in civil administration. The introduction of a fixed code of Christian law, in place of the vague and barbarous notions of the heathen, would alone entitle him to the gratitude of his country. This inestimable advantage was accompanied by the establishment of schools, to which (so universal was the ignorance) the monarch was obliged to send the children of his boyards by force. He endeavoured also to improve the habitations of his people by erecting public buildings after Greek designs, and he is undoubtedly entitled to the honour attaching to the first pioneers of civilization and religion among a barbarous people.

In accordance with the usage that had prevailed in the time of Rurik, Vladimir settled his twelve sons in ap-

panages, or dependent principalities, reserving the supremacy to himself, with the title of Grand Prince. The authority so reserved was vague and undefined, and the petty sovereigns were impatient of its exercise. Yaroslav, the most distinguished of his sons, refused to discharge the appointed tribute. The indignant father had levied an army to chastise the unnatural rebellion when his feelings became too strong for endurance, and he died, after a reign of forty-five years, A.D. 1015. The disorders which ensued show the imperfect hold as yet obtained by Christianity or civilization among the barbarians of the north. Two of the younger princes were assassinated by their eldest brother, and have obtained, apparently for no better reason, the honour of canonization in the Russian church.* A third fell a victim after flying into Hungary, but the fratricide being finally expelled from Kief and slain, the several states became again consolidated under Yaroslav.

This prince, in spite of the unfavourable opening of his career, has earned the greatest name in the annals of ancient Russia. His sister was queen of Poland; the kings of Sweden, Hungary, and France married his daughters.† His eldest son wedded Gonda, daughter of Harold, the last of our Saxon kings; another obtained

* Our Saxon king, Ethelred, was sainted as a martyr for receiving his death at the hand of idolaters, but the assassin of the princes Boris and Gleb was at least a baptized Christian. The historian of the Russian church asserts that they were engaged in the act of prayer at the moment when the murderous sword cut them off together—and that “the church was assured of their sanctity by the *incorruption of their virgin bodies*, and by many signs of healing before she asked their assistance in her prayers.”—(*Mouravieff's History of the Russian Church*) It is singular enough, that in the Roman church this absence of the usual marks of decay in a dead body, which constitutes a claim to saintship in Russia, is adduced as evidence that the deceased was excommunicate and unworthy of Christian burial.

† A romantic tale is related by the historian Karamzin which is familiar to every Russian maiden who can read. The daughters or “flowers” of Yaroslav were named Elizabeth, Anne, and Anastasia. The eldest and most beau-

the daughter of the Emperor Constantine Monomachus, and a third received the hand of a German princess. He carried his arms, though with doubtful success, into Finland, Livonia, Lithuania, and Bulgaria; and when, by the death of his last brother, the *appanages* had all reverted to himself, his power extended from the Volga to the Lower Danube, and from the Black Sea to the Baltic. This extensive area, however, acknowledged little national or political unity. The local chiefs fought and plundered each other with impunity. The various tribes clung as closely as they could to their own customs, and the prevailing habits of society were everywhere dark and barbarous.

Into these disordered scenes Yaroslav strove, with no less zeal and a more enlightened judgment than his father, to introduce the blessings of Christian civilization. Like our own Alfred, his predecessor by a century and a half, he gained the appellation of "Great" by civil legislation more than by military successes. He was the author of the first national code of law, and his labours are still preserved at Petersburg in a volume entitled *Rooskaya Pravda*, or Russian Truth. Like the "Dooms" of Alfred, this work contains the laws and decisions of earlier princes, enlarged and systematized by the reputed author. Both codes were in fact founded on the *Bible*, to which all Christian states are indebted for the basis of their political constitutions. This inspired guide was even better known to the Russian, than to the Anglo-Saxon, legislator; for

tiful was addressed both by the kings of France and Hungary; but having set her heart on the Swedish prince Garold, she prevailed on her father to transfer the royal suitors to her sisters. Elizabeth remained herself unwedded, till Garold, having achieved distinction under the Greek flag, fought against the Moors in Africa, and made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, returned to Novgorod laden with honours, and prevailed on the prince to give him the hand of his loveliest "flower."

while Alfred is famed for rendering into English some portions of the Latin Vulgate with Bede's Church History, and two or three works of piety*, Yaroslav enjoyed the larger privilege of publishing to his subjects the *entire Scriptures*, translated direct from the Greek into the not less rich and sonorous vernacular of the Slaves. The translation included the canons of the Oriental church, which, along with many superstitious additions, retained the decrees of the primitive councils, and much of the enlightened legislation of the Christian emperors.

The leading provisions of the Russian code are consequently very similar to the Anglo-Saxon. Both assign great authority and emolument to the clergy, the earliest teachers and civilizers of the people. The Greek church, however, differed from the Latin in placing the spiritual power *below* the regal; consequently Russia never experienced the evils endured in the west from the long conflict of the crown and the mitre. In another particular, also, the Russian legislator had the advantage. While both churches admitted and encouraged the monastic life, the Greeks were far from confounding it with the Christian ministry. The vow of celibacy was limited to monks: among the parochial clergy, marriage was not only permitted but *insisted upon*. In England, on the other hand, the Romish dogma prevailed to the exclusion of every married clergyman from his "thane right;" hence monastic orders were multiplied and enriched, to the great detriment of the commonwealth. These salutary diversities in Russia united, instead of dividing, the aspirations of

* The church of Rome, whose authority was relied upon by Alfred, had even then begun to tamper with the Divine law in respect to *image worship*. His recital of the Decalogue omits the second commandment, and to make up the number, adds a tenth from Exodus xx. 23.

religion and of patriotism; the clergy, though not wiser nor less superstitious than the Papal, have always been true to their country and their king.

The code of Yaroslav divides the lay population, as in other countries, into three classes; — the *boyards*, answering to the Anglo-Saxon *thanes*; the *freemen*, comprehending citizens, farmers, small proprietors, and hired labourers; and the *serfs* or slaves. The latter consisted either of prisoners of war, or of bondsmen who had become such by voluntary sale, insolvency, or crime. In England, where the same kinds of bondage were recognised*, the last alone were subject to the rigours of actual slavery; the other and more numerous classes were kept under the milder yoke of *villeinage*. It may be doubtful how far this distinction prevailed in Russia, where the frequency of war, the poverty of the soil, and the inhumanity and irresponsibility of the great men, all contributed to augment the numbers, and enhance the sufferings, of the unhappy slaves. It is certain, however, that in Russia, no less than in England, the free population comprehended the bulk of the peasantry, and if not proprietors or farmers, hired out their labour at their own discretion, usually changing employers about the end of November in every year.

The Russian legislation agrees with other early systems in commuting the guilt of *homicide* for a pecuniary fine, unless the relatives of the deceased chose to revenge his death by the strong hand. This course is expressly declared by Alfred to have been “ordained by synods.” The code of Yaroslav assigns eighty *grivnas* (about thirty

* The Anglo-Saxon laws authorized the sale of a child by the parents at seven years of age, and by himself at thirteen: a practice attributed to the destitution occasioned by the constant famines of the period.

shillings) for the death of a *boyard*, half as much for a court retainer, merchant, or free Russian, and *nothing* for a serf beyond a compensation to his master, which varied from twelve grivnas to six, or from four and sixpence to half-a-crown. The life of a free woman was computed generally at half that of man. A singular difference, however, obtained in the case of a *female serf*, who appears to have been always valued above the male. For a *nurse* the highest rate of compensation was levied, and for every slave woman put to death, the Russian code exacted a fine to the state of twelve grivnas, in addition to the value paid to her master. These regulations may perhaps point at the barbarous policy of *breeding* slaves; of the same character is the enactment, that a freeman who married a slave should descend to her condition and participate her bondage. •

The punishment of death, abolished by Vladimir, was re-enacted by Yaroslav for offences of the highest order. Whilst allowing homicide, a crime of ordinary occurrence, to be atoned for by money, Alfred declares that he "*dared not pardon treason.*" Fighting in the king's hall, coining, and other state offences, were also "deathworthy" by the Anglo-Saxon law. Mutilation was a legal punishment in both countries, but the *Rooskaya Pravda* contains no trace of the *knout*, or of the other corporal punishments which are the opprobrium of modern Russia. •

On the whole it would appear that, so far as public law was concerned, the Russians of the eleventh century were little, if at all, behind the other nations of Europe. It is certain, however, that the legislation of Yaroslav was greatly in advance of the views and habits of his subjects. The Christianity which Alfred found firmly rooted in the popular mind from the preaching of three centuries,

was an exotic in Russia, recently imported and fostered by royal ordinances. Laws which reflected the spirit of the Anglo-Saxon people, and were entrusted to their own custody, failed to find observance when promulgated among a people incapable of appreciating or preserving their advantages. Hence, while the "Dooms of Alfred" have gradually ripened into the British constitution, and the people who inherited them have become the leaders of liberty and civilization throughout the world, the *Rooskayū Pravda* was never more than a paper code, and Russia is still the last and least enfranchised of European states.

The point at which this remarkable divergence commenced may be seen in the methods adopted for putting the respective codes into execution. In England, frequent assemblies of *thanes* and freemen, graduated from the *folk mote*, the *burgh mote*, and the *shire mote*, up to the *wittenagemote* itself, secured to every householder a share in the execution of the laws, and a voice in their improvement. The king was the impersonation of the national justice; the head, but not the master, of his people; the fountain of mercy and honour, but, as well as others, subject to the law of the land. This common heritage in the law is the foundation of political, no less than of personal, liberty. In Russia, on the contrary, the execution of the law remained in the hands of the boyards. The second estate, or freemen, had the privilege of electing a head over every century, whose office conferred a magistracy of equal rank with the boyards; but this arrangement, though availing to some extent as a *municipal* franchise in towns, seems to have had little application in the vast rural districts, where the great lords reigned on their estates uncontrolled and unrebuked. The evil was aggravated by an enact-

ment declaring the Grand Prince heir to all freemen dying without male issue, except the boyards and court retainers. This provision effectually stopped the growth of a *yeomanry* or middle class in Russia. In England, the crown endeavoured to sustain its prerogative against the power of the barons by enfranchising the lower classes. In Russia it adopted a policy which extinguished the free population, and, by reducing the masses to serfdom, left no refuge from local oppression but in despotism or anarchy.

The privileges of the municipalities, instead of counteracting this effect, worked from an opposite direction to the same result. The several *vetches* insisted on nothing short of the power and independence of republican states. Admitting or electing a prince of the blood-royal as their military protector, they would allow him no voice in making or executing the laws, which were regulated entirely by their own customs and discretion. Disgusted with these turbulent communities, the princes began to found towns with no municipal rights or assemblies. The inequalities thus produced among the governed were accompanied by a continuous subdivision of the governing power among the princes. Every new appanage introduced a new sovereignty, and the national constitution was but a name.

The most famous specimen of these anomalous municipalities was Novgorod, where partly in memory of its early greatness, and partly in gratitude for support afforded him in his struggle for existence and empire, Yaroslav permitted a local government hardly differing from the ancient republic. The sole power reserved to the Grand Prince was to appoint one of his blood to this appanage, with the title of *namestnick*.

This prince possessed no voice in the council, not even a *veto* on their decisions. He could appoint no provincial magistrates but such as had been previously approved by the mayor. He had no control over the administration of justice, the imposition of taxes, or the course of trade. The public officers were elected and removed at the will of the vetches. The prince himself was exchanged on the expression of their discontent; and so extravagantly was the privilege exercised, that thirty-four namestnicks were deposed in a single century, and the Grand Prince himself was reduced to solicit the intercession of the metropolitan in order to obtain a recognition of his sovereignty. Such privileges were hostile rather than conducive to the cause of liberty. As in the republics of ancient Greece, the franchise was the monopoly of a class, not the heritage of a people, and the nation rejoiced when the city was humiliated.

Yaroslav died just before the Norman conquest of England (A.D. 1054), having adopted the usual practice of dividing out his territories into appanages for his younger sons. The capital of Kief, with the title of Grand Prince, descended to the eldest; but the arrangement exhibited its inherent vice in a long series of intestine discords. After being twice expelled from Kief, and reduced to the necessity of imploring assistance from Poland, Germany, and the pope of Rome, the Grand Prince saw his capital occupied by foreign troops, and was retained on the throne only by the sufferance of the Poles.

At his death the Scandinavian principle of hereditary succession was exchanged for the Slavonic rule of the next eldest brother. The princes being thus continually removed from one domain to another, the supremacy be-

came still more enfeebled, while the appanages lay exposed at once to civil contest and foreign invasion. Some were ravaged by the Hungarians, others by the Polovtzy, a race of predatory Tartars, and all was confusion and anarchy.

A brief period of comparative repose was achieved by Vladimir Monomachus, grandson to Yaroslav and to the Greek emperor whose surname he bore. He reigned twelve years in Kief, and was the first Russian ruler who wore a crown. The golden tiara set with jewels and surmounted by a cross, the sceptre with its imperial orb, and other costly articles, presented by his cousin of Constantinople, are still preserved in the Kremlin at Moscow.

The death-bed admonitions of this prince have been referred to as evincing a sense of religion, justice, and humanity beyond his contemporaries. "My dear children (he is reported to have said), praise God and love men, for it is neither fasting, nor solitude, nor monastic vows that can give you eternal life; it is beneficence alone. Be fathers to the orphan, and judges for the widow. Violate not the oath you have sworn on the cross. Look carefully into your domestic concerns, and fly from drunkenness and debauchery." It will be observed that this famous address contains no allusion to the distinctive doctrines of the gospel, nor even once mentions the name of its Divine Author. Its only injunction with regard to religious duties, is to "do good to the priests, that they may offer up prayers to God for you." In recounting his own exploits—including eighty-three campaigns and many expeditions, nineteen treaties with the Polovtzy, the capture and release of 100 of their chiefs, and the destruction of 200 prisoners *by throwing them into rivers*—the Russian

monarch plumes himself that "he made it his duty to inspect the churches and the sacred ceremonies of religion, as well as the management of his property, his stables, and the vultures and hawks of his hunting establishment."

The death of Vladimir II. (A.D. 1125) left the Grand Princedom once more a prize for the strongest. The supreme authority was reduced to a name, and the principality itself dwindled to the immediate vicinity of Kief. The Hungarians and Tartars were called in by the contending parties. At last the Prince of Suzdal, a large territory in the centre of Russia, captured the feeble capital, and punished its turbulent burghers by transferring the supremacy to his own new city of Vladimir, A.D. 1168. This great change was effected by Andrew, the son of Igor the founder of Moscow. The same prince attempted, but without success, two expeditions against Novgorod, whose vast possessions had spread over all the north of Russia, and which had been admitted into the Hanscatic League as an independent republic. Though enjoying henceforth the title of Grand Prince, Andrew proved unable to reconstruct the empire. He was assassinated by his own subjects in 1174, and his successor not only abandoned the design of consolidation, but further parcelled out his own patrimony into inferior appanages. The next reign saw the tributary chiefs formally released from their dependence on the Grand Prince, and the dissolution of the empire was complete.

All authorities agree in attributing the disasters which ensued to the number and feuds of the Russian princes. The line of Rurik had multiplied to several hundreds, each enjoying his petty principality with a separate retinue of boyards and followers, and boasting an indepen-

dence as haughty and as impotent as that of the rajas of ancient India. Foreign tribes poured in unchecked over these disunited and defenceless states. The national feeling, never very deeply implanted, wholly disappeared, and the country seemed to invite the approach of an invader at a time when, unhappily for the interests of civilization and of humanity, Russia was encompassed by neighbours only too eager to profit by her weakness.

Zenghis Khan, after uniting under his sway all the Mongol tribes between China and the Caspian Sea, had extended his conquests from the Pacific to the Volga, and from the Persian Gulf to the borders of Siberia. His son, pursuing the tide of victory along the western shores of the Caspian, annihilated the Circassians and Polovtzy, who covered the Russian borders, and then extending his incursions, defeated the princes of Galisch and Kief in a great battle at the mouth of the Don, A.D. 1223. This first invasion was only a prelude to the entire subjugation of Russia by the forces of Baty, the grandson of Zenghis. Having been permitted to overrun Bulgaria without opposition, the conqueror advanced into Russia, penetrated to the principality of Riazan, and thence carried fire and sword to Vladimir. The Grand Prince Yury saved himself by retiring, with the vain idea of collecting an army when the enemy was already at his gates. The terrors of those who were left behind rendered the fortifications of the city unavailable. The barbarians rushed in unopposed, slaughtered the inhabitants, and fired the town. The Grand Princess with her ladies were consumed in a church where they had taken refuge. The city was destroyed, and not a single Russian escaped the massacre.

The Mongol policy was opposed to the very existence

of towns and fortifications. Their roving hordes demanded extensive tracts of country, with a population too scattered to offer resistance to their predatory habits. Their course was that of the angel of destruction. Wherever they advanced they burned the cities, and massacred the inhabitants. A desert followed in their rear. Inaccessible to civilization and to pity, no promises bound, no entreaties moved them. Their aim was to strike terror into the few who were permitted to survive, by the wholesale perpetration of barbarities which the mind recoils from relating.

Yury was killed at the head of a brave but utterly inadequate force; and the invaders were within sixty miles of Novgorod, when by a caprice not unusual among barbarians, the hordes were halted, and retracing their steps evacuated the empire, after destroying a vast number of towns, and slaying according to some accounts 60,000 men.

This respite being attributed to the good offices of the archangel Michael, the Russians redoubled their invocations and thanksgivings to the saints, but took no other measures for the security of the realm. The Mongols returned the next year; Kief was taken, and reduced to ashes; similar inhuman barbarities were repeated throughout Russian Croatia, Servia, Bulgaria, Wallachia, and Moldavia. After crushing all resistance, the invaders established themselves at Sarai (now called Saratoff), on the banks of the Volga, under the title of the *Kapstchak*, or, as they were more commonly called, from the cloth of gold which composed the tent of the leader, the *Golden Horde*.

The *Kapstchak* was originally only one of five divisions which arose in the Mongol empire on the death of Zenghis Khan. Whilst the Great Khan, the supreme

head of all the Tartars*, continued to reside in the depth of Asia, the Golden Horde throwing off its dependency, became a separate government, extending from the Don to the Caspian, and mainly supported by the tribute extorted from the Russian princes.

These disunited and impotent chieftains submitted almost without a struggle to the yoke of the barbarian. They appeared personally before the Khan, to receive investiture of their fiefs, and to pay the appointed tribute. Their internal disputes were decided at his pleasure, and his favour awarded the empty, but still coveted, distinction of Grand Prince. The humiliating journey to his presence often occupied a year, during which the principality lay exposed to revolution and ravage. Sometimes the ruler never returned, but was taken off by poison, secretly administered as he was leaving the horde. More than once the open blow of the Mongol executioner disposed of a descendant of Rurik. Still the infatuated princes continued to intrigue against one another for the favour of the barbarian; they stooped to purchase a brief distinction by bribes, which weakened the resources of the country at the same time that they increased the cupidity of its enslavers.

Two centuries of almost Egyptian bondage followed. The light of Greek Christianity glimmered feebly over the savage waste, and the iron entered into the soul. When the Russians emerged at last from the inglorious thralldom, it was a *horde*, rather than a nation, which became settled in Europe. Their rulers emulated the ferocious despotism of the Khans, and the subject had no other thought than to prostrate himself and obey.

* This word, more properly written Tatar, originally designated only a small tribe of the Mongols; it is now popularly applied (like Kossack) to any one that leads a nomad or wandering life. The geographical term "Tartary" is quite unknown to any of the tribes inhabiting the region which it is used to designate.

CHAPTER III.

THE MUSCOVITE MONARCHY.

Mongol Domination not an unmixed Evil — Union of Races — Alexander Nevsky — Livonian and Teutonic Knights — Moscow — Grand Principedom — Ivan Kalita — Metropolitan See — Daniel of Galich — Lithuania and Poland — Kossacks — Demetrius Donskoi — Hereditary Succession — Paramount Sovereignty — Decline of the Golden Horde — Victory of Koulikoff — Burning of Moscow — Vassily — Tamerlane — Crisis — Coronation of Vassily — Vassily the Blind — Singular Demonstration — Ivan the Great — Marriage with Sophia — Greek Empire — Tartar Tyranny — Ivan's Policy — Capture of Kasan — Novgorod — Destruction of the Golden Horde — Liberation of Russia — Consolidation of the Monarchy — Recovery of Little Russia — Title of Czar — Royal State — Remodelling of the Boyards — Autocracy — Vassily Ivanovitch — Ivan the Terrible — Infancy and early Years — Coronation — Moscow in Flames — Silvester — Anastasia — Council of the Hundred Chapters — Estates of the Realm — Three Orders — Trial by Jury — Re-conquest of Kasan — Conversion to Christianity — Conquest of Astrakhan — Annexation of Siberia — Commerce — Intercourse with England — Death of Anastasia — Change in Ivan — Czar's Withdrawal from Moscow — His Return — Peculiarities — Superstition and Cruelty — Death of St. Philip — Massacre at Novgorod — Hermit of Pskof — Executions at Moscow — Seven Wives — Correspondence with Queen Elizabeth — Lady Anne Hastings — Stephen of Poland — Death of the Czarovitch and of the Czar — His Character — Comparison with Henry VIII. — Feodore — Boris Godunoff — Demetrius — Reported Death — Tartar Invasion — Erection of the Patriarchate — Origin of Serfdom — Archangel built — Smolensk — Ural — Tobolsk — Georgia — Death of Feodore — Election of Boris — Tyrannical Conduct — Momentary Popularity — Oppression — Demetrius claims the Throne — His Escape — Insurrection — Death of Boris — Accession of Demetrius — New Patriarch — Philaret — Coronation and Marriage of the Czar — Insurrection — Death of Demetrius — Interregnum — Canonization of Demetrius — Invasion of the Poles — Taking of Moscow — National Struggle — Liberation of Moscow — Election of a new Czar — House of Romanoff.

THE Mongol domination, however humiliating, was not absolutely an unmixed evil to Russia. No lighter calamity would have extinguished the feuds of the princes, or evoked a national unity among the boyards and

people. It appears that the primitive races of men are unable to produce a great nation till largely impregnated by foreign elements. Only two exceptions have been known to this rule, — the Jews, whose civilization was the effect of a Divine interposition, and the Arabs, who quickly passed on their glory to the Turks and Persians. The Greek, Roman, and British nations were founded in a mixture of races. The Hindus, Mongols, and negroes, who are at this day the purest in descent, are the least influential portions of mankind.* The Slave element exists in greatest purity among the Servians and Bulgarians, the least advanced people in Europe; and the Malo Russians, whose blood is the freest from foreign admixture, have, perhaps on that very account, failed to become the dominant race in Russia.

It is probable, therefore, that the infusion even of a Tartar element was not without its use in the formation of the Russian nation. The development of the benefit, however, was slow and painful: Through a long and weary period of history nothing is visible but the ignoble wars of petty factions, or the vain struggles of undisciplined bondmen against an iron servitude.

A gleam of lustre plays round the name of Alexander prince of Novgorod, who heading the forces of that still wealthy republic against a confederacy of Swedes, Danes, and Livonian Knights of the Sword*, vanquished their combined armies in a great battle on the

* Livonia was evangelized by missionaries from Germany towards the end of the twelfth century. Albert Buxheveden was appointed by the Pope to be the first bishop; he built Riga, and, A.D. 1201, established his order of sword-bearers by the title of "Brethren of the Cross of the Lord." The Pope gave to this order all the lands they should conquer, and the greater part of Livonia was reduced in about thirty years. After that they formed an alliance with the Teutonic order established in Prussia (A.D. 1237), and were very powerful till the close of the century, when the bishops and knights fell into dissensions respecting the sovereignty of the conquered territories.

banks of the Neva, A.D. 1244. This achievement was commemorated by the surname of *Nevsky*, followed at a later period by the institution of an order of knighthood in honour of the hero. But the notorious inconstancy of the citizens obliged the Grand Prince his father to remove him from the government, and it was not till Novgorod was a second time in danger from the same enemy, that he consented to return at their entreaty, and again deliver it by his sword.

Succeeding his father as Grand Prince, Alexander continued the war against Sweden, with an ability that increased his military reputation, and secured the applause of the Tartars. Expiring at last, in returning from one of his journeys to the horde (not without just suspicion of poison), his name was added to the list of Russian saints, on the ground of some pretended miracles attendant on his decease. He was never able, however, when living, to retain influence enough with the people, or their princes, to organize a national effort for emancipation.

• It was reserved to a later period to lay again the foundations of monarchy, in the rising town of Moscow. This renowned city, now venerated throughout Russia as the "holy mother" of the nation and the state, was originally included in the principality of Vladimir, and took its name from the Moskva, an affluent of the Oka, which joins the Volga at Nijni-Novgorod. Becoming a separate appanage during the ascendancy of the Mongols, its princes found themselves advantageously situated for the contest that was always being waged for the supremacy.

The Grand Princedom had descended, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, to the princes of Tver, who unwisely retaining their residence at that city were cut off from Vladimir by the intervention of

Moscow. The ruler of the latter principality, relying on the favour of the Khan, whose sister he had married, and on the chronic discontent of the Novgorodians, attacked the Grand Prince in Twer, but was defeated, and his wife taken prisoner. The Mongol princess expiring shortly after, the Grand Prince was summoned to the horde to account for her death, and there publicly executed as a murderer, A.D. 1319. His dignity was bestowed on Yury (or George) of Moscow; but this prince was assassinated at the horde by the son of his predecessor, who in turn was put to death by the Khan. The Grand Princedom returned to the house of Twer, to be again lost and restored at the caprice of the Tartar; till after two more of these unfortunate princes had perished in the horde, the title fell again to the house of Moscow, in the person of Ivan the brother of George.

This prince, surnamed *Kalita* (the purse-bearer), either from his great riches, or from his practice of courting popularity by distributing alms in his journeys, contrived to obtain Vladimir and Novgorod from the Khan, in addition to his own appanage. He was appointed also to collect the tribute, which the Tartars had previously levied direct from the princes. In this capacity he took care not only to satisfy the Mongol exchequer, but to amass a considerable treasure to himself, with which he was always ready to purchase new domains, or new privileges, from the rapacious Khan.

By the same potent agency he secured to his capital the much-coveted distinction of the metropolitical see. This privilege had been transferred from Kief to Vladimir about the year 1299, without affecting the style of the primate, who continued to call himself metropolitan of Kief and of all Russia. The promise of a cathedral of stone induced the aged prelate to remove to Moscow,

where he lies canonized by the name of St. Peter. With this accession of ecclesiastical dignity Moscow was further aggrandized through the very losses sustained to Russia in other quarters. The appanages beyond the Dnieper, lying at the greatest distance from the horde, were the first to recover from the common calamity. Daniel of Galisch received a royal crown from the Roman pontiff (A.D. 1241), accompanied by a proposal for the union of the two churches and a joint crusade against the Mongols. This project the new king wisely postponed to a more favourable season, but he succeeded in extending his rule over all the south-west of Russia and most of the provinces of Lithuania. This monarchy, however, was of brief duration: in 1320 Guedimin, a heathen chief who had established himself in Wilna, wrested Kief with the adjoining territory from the descendants of Daniel, while the Poles and Hungarians seized on the remainder of his possessions.* The new conquerors were engaged in constant conflicts with each other for the spoil, and in the alternate change of masters vast numbers of Russians betook themselves to flight. Some emigrated to the steppes, where they laid the beginning of the independent tribes, who being augmented from various quarters acquired the appellation of Kossacks. Others sought safety under the rising power of Moscow, and the hopes of the Russian church and nation became more and more centred in the new metropolis.

* The authentic history of the Polish monarchy commences with the accession of the first Christian king, Micislaus Piast, A.D. 964. That dynasty ending with Casimir the Great, A.D. 1370, the King of Hungary was elected to the throne. Both these nations made war on their heathen neighbours the Lithuanians, till in 1386 the Duke of Lithuania embraced the Christian religion, and, espousing the daughter of the deceased king, commenced the dynasty of Jaghellon, which united Poland with Lithuania, and not unfrequently with the elective monarchy of Hungary. Ladislaus, the first monarch of the united

The dignity and the policy of Ivan Kalita were transmitted to two sons in succession, and returned, after a brief interruption, to his grandson Demetrius. Assuming the Grand Principedom without asking letters from the Khan, he prevailed on the appanaged princes to do homage to his supremacy, and to recognise an hereditary succession in the Muscovite dynasty. These important concessions had the effect of giving new rank and authority to the boyards of the Grand Prince, and they became interested in maintaining the paramount throne. The princes and chiefs who stood out at first were gradually persuaded, or compelled, to acquiesce; and by the close of the fourteenth century Demetrius had re-established a paramount sovereignty over all the territory remaining to the Russians.

Meantime the Golden Horde had begun to fall to pieces. The Crimea was separated under Nogai. Another chief asserted independence at Kasan, while several smaller hordes were acting for themselves in other localities. The supreme authority, together with the Russian tribute, was claimed by Mamai, the Khan on the Don; who, taking alarm at the rising power of Demetrius, threatened Moscow with another Tartar invasion. The menace, however, had now lost its former terror, and the Khan was anticipated by the courage and policy of the Grand Prince, who, taking the field at the head of 200,000 men, appeared to offer battle on the banks of the Don.

This first rising of a long-trampled people was sus-

countries, exerted himself with great ardour for the conversion of his Lithuanian subjects. The groves were cut down, the sacred fire extinguished, and the serpents that had been worshipped as divinities destroyed. The Lithuanians flocked in such crowds to be baptized that the Roman Catholic priests placed them in ranks, and, sprinkling water over each, admitted them to the church in companies, and by the same Christian name, without regarding even the distinctions of sex! The Christianity thus imparted was doubtless as perfunctory as the rite of initiation.

tained by all the enthusiasm of religion, united with the courage of despair, and the dawning hopes of a new-born nationality. The Russian troops clamoured loudly to pass the river and attack the once dreaded Mongols. They commenced the onslaught with unwonted and tremendous fury, but were encountered with equal determination and superior numbers. Demetrius had deliberately barred his retreat by closing the river behind him, and his followers fought with the knowledge that they must conquer or die. More than once victory inclined to the Mohammedans, when she was again torn from their grasp by the desperate resolution of the Russians. At last a reserve, judiciously posted by Demetrius, fell on the Tartar rear in the crisis of an apparent triumph, and Mamai fled from the field.

The victory was purchased at a fearful cost. Twenty thousand corpses remained on the ground; eight days were consumed in burying the Russian dead, while to the Tartars this last rite of humanity was not rendered at all. Still the victory of Koulikoff, won the 8th of September 1380, must be regarded as the opening of a brighter page in the national history, and the appellation of *Donskoi*, given to Demetrius in honour of the occasion, is deservedly inscribed at its head.

The prize was not to be secured, however, at a single blow. The flying horde recruiting its strength returned from its head-quarters on the Volga before the Russians had recovered from the exhaustion of their great effort. Penetrating to Moscow, in the absence of Demetrius, they persuaded his boyards to capitulate, and instantly violating the conditions fired the city, and put the inhabitants to the sword. Demetrius was again reduced to subjection; but a national hope had been awakened, which continued to centre in the Grand

Prince, and became indissolubly attached^d to his descendants.

Under Vassily, the son of Demetrius Donskoi, the Muscovite dynasty was exposed to destruction from two opposite quarters. Tamerlane, after subduing the Kaptschak, advanced with a yet more formidable horde into Russia, where the Grand Prince awaited him in despair, and Moscow again trembled in the grasp of the Tartars. On the other side the Lithuanians^{* •} had surprised Smolensk, and were pushing their arms close to Novgorod. The Russians were in an agony, but at the crisis of their fate both invaders withdrew to spend their force upon other foes. Tamerlane retracing his steps, fell again upon the Golden Horde, and after utterly routing it passed away to the more attractive spoils of India.† The Lithuanians embarked in new contests with the Poles, in which both enemies appeared to be so weakened that Vassily dared to bring out the ensigns of imperial dignity from their hiding-place, and was openly crowned in Moscow, A.D. 1395. The horde, however, was still strong enough to chastise this imprudent vaunt, and the anointed ruler was obliged to renew his allegiance to the Tartar.

* Notwithstanding the national conversion of Lithuania under Ladislaus Jaghellon, many of the natives continued attached to their pagan rites, and implacably hostile to the Poles. This occasioned continual discords till, in 1392, Ladislaus consented to appoint a Grand Duke, with a distinct though subordinate government. The person promoted to this dignity was Alexander Vitovt, whose daughter Sophia was married to Vassily; but as the Grand Duke was a zealous Romanist, the Russians were no better friends with their monarch's father-in-law than with his heathen predecessors.

† The 26th August is still kept as a festival at Moscow in commemoration of this deliverance, which the monkish historian attributes to the "ancient icon of the mother of God," said to have been painted by St. Luke. The metropolitan went out with the citizens in procession to receive this relic from Vladimir, and conduct it into Moscow. "On that same day," he says, "Tamerlane turned back and drew off his army."—*Mouravieff's Hist. of Russian Church*, ch. v.

This prince leaving an infant son Vassily II., the succession was disputed by his brother, who asserted the old custom of the Slavonians. The hereditary principle, however, was so warmly supported by the clergy and nobles, that it obtained the recognition of the Khan, and the pretender being rejected seized the capital by force, and exiled his nephew. The people joined the upper classes in the cause of legitimacy, and the whole population of Moscow followed their sovereign into banishment, leaving the usurper, solitary and conscience-smitten, to the empty streets. This singular demonstration effected the return of the rightful heir in a few days, and though afterwards again dispossessed and deprived of his eyes by the pretender's sons, he was finally restored, in the face of vices and follies which had long alienated the personal regard of his subjects.

The Muscovite dynasty derived much of its stability from the longevity of its first princes. Ivan and his five lineal descendants held the Grand Principedom, with one brief interruption, for a period of a hundred and thirty years; it descended with a vast accession of power, moral and political, to Ivan surnamed the Great, A.D. 1462. Circumstances now seemed to favour the entire realization of Kalita's ambition. The Tartars, either from having no policy of their own, or from a rude respect to religion, had fixed on the ecclesiastical authorities as the persons most deserving their attention. The intercession of the bishops was listened to when the princes were harshly repelled, and strict orders were issued to respect their churches and possessions. The Russians, too, in the absence of every other institution, had concentrated their trust and hope in the church. The chief men sought refuge in her bosom from the bitter mortifications they were forced to endure in the

state, and most of the Grand Princes assumed the cowl, at least on their death-beds. The clergy thus found themselves aggrandized on both sides. Their possessions, augmented by the affection of the people, were protected by the self-interest of the foreigner. Great monasteries overshadowed the land, fortified and provisioned like baronial castles. The metropolitan's court exhibited a state superior to the Grand Prince's; his ass's bridle was held by the sons of Rurik, and his voice was potential for life and death above the highest of the boyards.

The time was now come when the rising spirit of the Christian community would no longer tolerate the protection of Pagans and Mussulmans. The clergy were foremost in the desire for emancipation, and, perceiving that its prospects depended on the national unity, their influence was persistently thrown into the scale of the Grand Prince. Ivan ascended the throne with the undivided support of his subjects, and began the work of unity by possessing himself of the principality of Borovsk. His personal influence was vastly augmented by a marriage with the Princess Sophia, niece to the last emperor of Constantinople.* With this representative of the imperial line, the Greek empire seemed to pass into Russia, and Ivan imparted a new aspiration to his people, when in her right he exchanged the white horse

* This princess was the daughter of Thomas Palæologus, brother to the Emperor Constantine, and joint despot with Demetrius in the Morea. The two brothers were permitted to retain their government for a while, paying tribute to the Ottoman conqueror; but when their strength had been consumed in internal discords, Mohammed marched into the province as the ally of Demetrius, and compelled Thomas to take refuge in Corfu, whence he escaped to Rome, carrying with him, in order to insure a favourable reception, the head of *St. Andrew the Apostle*. Demetrius enjoyed his triumph but for a moment; he was obliged to surrender his dominions to the Sultan, and, further, to accept him for a son-in-law. The sons of Thomas were not more successful in preserving the imperial lineage. The eldest sold his title to the kings of France

of the Varangians for the two-headed eagle which had been the arms of the Cæsars.

The daughter of the Constantines was shocked at the indignities imposed on the Grand Prince by the Tartars. When an envoy arrived from the horde he was required to meet him, while yet on horseback, with a cup of mare's milk and, if any were spilled in the drinking, to lick it up himself from the animal's mane. In the hall of audience the Tartar read his master's orders, seated on a carpet of furs, while the Grand Prince and his boyards knelt in mute submission. These degrading usages Sophia incited her consort to discontinue; soon after he removed the residence of the Tartar embassy beyond the precincts of the holy Kremlin, and Sophia built a church to St. Nicholas on the site. Ivan's next act was to keep back the tribute on various pretexts; and when the Khan, roused from his supineness, threatened an invasion, the Grand Prince levied a force which filled the horde with alarm and compelled them to accept his excuses.

• The Muscovite policy was to advance by degrees, and beat the enemy in detail. Continuing to temporize with the Kaptshak, Ivan concluded a firm alliance with the Crimean Khan, and then broke ground by attacking the Tartars at Kasan. The horde being unable singly to withstand his arms, the city was taken by assault A.D. 1470, and a first blow struck with startling effect at the Tartar ascendancy. This victory, however, instead of

and Arragon successively, while the younger returned to Constantinople to live and die under the Ottoman rule. The Roman pontiff bestowed the hand of Sophia on the Grand Prince of Muscovy, in the hope of concerting a crusade against all the Mussulman invaders of Europe, and reuniting the Russians at last to the see of St. Peter; but the princess returned to the Greek religion on the solemnization of her marriage, and Ivan had no intention of sharing his intended triumphs with another.

rallying the Russian states to the cause of national emancipation, seemed at first only to open anew the intestine discords which had so long retained them in bondage. The wealthy republics of Novgorod, Viatka, and Pskof, which had contentedly paid tribute to the khans of Kasan, were alarmed at the power and near approach of the Grand Prince. The Novgorodians determined to arrest his progress by a demonstration of extraordinary vigour; they expelled his representative from their community, confiscated the royal fief, and consummated their revolt by a treaty of alliance with the Roman Catholic prince of Lithuania.

So violent a proceeding outraged the feelings of all Russia, and Ivan became the champion, at once, of the religion and of the nation. He entered the offending territory with three formidable armies, furnished with fire-arms and cannon, lately introduced into his service by an Italian named Aristotle of Bologna. Novgorod was easily taken, and the Grand Prince's authority re-established. A large ransom saved the municipal liberties for the moment, but Ivan never relaxed his grasp on the humiliated citizens. The decision of their internal differences was gradually assumed to himself, and they were even summoned to his tribunal at Moscow. For seven years one encroachment succeeded another, till the veil was suddenly dropped, and the monarch demanded the extinction of the republic, together with an oath of allegiance to himself. The enraged citizens tolled their great bell, the famous Vetchookolokol, so long the tocsin of their popular assemblies, and rushed to the market-place. The envoy who bore the demand was arraigned in the summary court of the democracy, and torn to pieces on the spot. The boyards suspected of treachery were put to death in the streets, and the

infatuated popuface once more invoked the protection of Lithuania.

Ivan, on the other hand, made his appeal to the church and the nation. All Russia embarked in a crusade against these apostates to a foreign power and a hostile religion. The terrified Novgorodians were soon driven to capitulate, but terms were no longer to be obtained. The posadnik was delivered up a prisoner, the great bell was transported to Moscow, all popular privileges ceased, and the boyards of the republic were transferred to the service of the Grand Prince. The revenues of the clergy who had encouraged the rebellion were confiscated and distributed among Ivan's retainers; hundreds of cartloads of gold, silver, and precious stones, besides furs, cloth, and other merchandise, were conveyed in triumph to Moscow.

Scarcely was this accession of power complete, when Ivan was called on to meet another and final invasion of the Golden Horde. In this contest everything was on his side — an enormous army, a united people, and the warmest encouragements of the clergy. But this prince, though described as a person of gigantic stature and ferocious aspect, seems to have acquired the title of "Great" from the valour of others more than his own. He is accused, in fact, of the most disgraceful cowardice. He deserted the army to hide in the capital. His son, who advanced without him, was recalled, but refused to obey. When a council of bishops and boyards at last forced the trembling monarch to his post at the head of the troops, he still refused to advance. The metropolitan offered to lead the attack in his place, promising that, old as he was, his back should never be turned to the Tartars; but neither taunts nor entreaties could rouse the craven prince. At the head of 200,000

soldiers burning for the conflict, he actually fled, and all was in confusion and panic.

He was saved from the fate he deserved by the courage and conduct of his lieutenant at Svenigorod. This officer, in concert with the Khan of Crimea, planned an attack on the Kaptschak, at the time that its forces were withdrawn against Moscow. The expedition was successful; the women and treasure of the Tartars were carried off, and their habitations laid in ashes. This intelligence occasioned the precipitate retreat of their army out of Russia, but a united force of Kossacks and Nogai Tartars intercepted their return, and after a severe conflict they were defeated and cut to pieces. The Golden Horde was completely annihilated, and the independence of Russia was achieved.

Ivan, if incapable of winning a battle, was perfectly able to appropriate the conquests of others. His credulous subjects were made to recognise a profound policy in the course so recently censured for poltroonery. The sovereign was hailed as the vanquisher of the Tartars and the liberator of his people. He availed himself of the influence so acquired to effect a further consolidation of the sovereign power. It no longer contented him to be supreme over the several appanages; he was anxious to incorporate them with his own dominions, and establish a compact monarchy in place of the loose league of petty states existing among the descendants of Rurik. In pursuance of this object, by repeating the policy observed with Novgorod, he made himself master of the republics of Pskof and Viatka. The feudal princes he was obliged to approach with more caution, though with equal determination. He contrived so to harass the nearest appanage Twer, that the inhabitants were

glad to submit to his rule, and their Grand Duke fled into Lithuania. The Grand Duke of Riazan and the Prince of Vereia experienced a similar fate. The Princes of Yaroslaf and Rostoff surrendered their sovereignty, and received back their territories as provincial governments under Ivan. Ouglich, Viasma, and Perm followed in the train. Only six appanages were left in existence, none being possessed of any extensive territory or considerable influence.

With the monarchy thus firmly consolidated, Ivan found himself in a condition to attempt the recovery of the provinces lost to Russia in the south and west. The Poles and Lithuanians had been far from confining themselves to the boundary of the Dnieper. The eastern bank was overrun with their expeditions, and several towns of Great Russia had been taken and held against the Grand Prince. Smolensk, besieged and captured by Vitovt in 1403, remained, with its entire province, united to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The death of Casimir III. of Poland (A.D. 1494) afforded the opportunity for which Ivan had long been watching. The Polish throne being ascended by the late king's elder son, the duchy of Lithuania was given to the younger, Alexander. Ivan engaged the Khan of Crimea to occupy the Poles, and after inciting his relative, the Moldavian hospodar, to aggressions in another quarter, marched with his whole force into Lithuania. Alexander was compelled to submit without a blow. A treaty was concluded, in virtue of which he espoused a daughter of Ivan; but as the wedded couple were both rigidly devoted to their respective churches, complaints ensued which gave a pretence for a further appeal to arms. Meanwhile Alexander had succeeded to the Polish crown, and was supported also by the Livonian knights. Nevertheless the Russians re-

covered all the territory of which they had been deprived, as far as Smolensk and Kief.

These victories put the finishing stroke to the reputation of Ivan the Great. To mark the increased authority attaching to his crown, he assumed the title of *Czar* (more properly *Tsar*), one of the royal titles of the Greek emperors, and the old Slavonic term for king.* In the languages of Europe this designation was translated *imperator* and *emperor*, but in that signification in which the title was applied to the Ottoman Sultan, the ruler of China, and other Asiatic princes. When it was afterwards claimed as equivalent to the German *Kaiser*, it led to a curious negotiation with the principal courts, and the demand was conceded on the express stipulation of its implying no superiority over other crowns.†

With his new title Ivan adopted the pretensions and state of the Greek empire, of which he desired to be considered the heir and successor. Claiming to

* The word is found also in the old Persian, and is supposed to be incorporated in the final syllables of the names Phalassar, Nabonassar, &c. Some authors say the title was first assumed by Ivan's son Vassily, and some again by his son Ivan IV. ; but the accounts which assign it to Ivan the Great seem more authentic. It was unquestionably borne by Vassily.

† The descendants of Rurik bore the title of *Conyug*, or in Russian *Kniaz*, which is always translated *prince*. The head of the league was called *Veliki Kniaz*, or Grand Prince, the title now given to the sons of the Czar, and translated, after the German custom, Grand Duke. By Queen Elizabeth the Czar was addressed as Emperor and Highness; James I. added Majesty, and Charles I. Imperial Majesty. Under Queen Anne, the style Czarish Majesty was introduced. In a Latin letter from Ivan's son Vassily to Pope Clement VII. (April 1525), he styles himself *Magnus Dux, Basilii Dei gratia Imperator ac Dominator totius Russiæ*, &c. ; and fifty years later, Gregory XIII. addressed Basil's son as "*Serenissimo princeps, Cæsar et Magne Dux*." The Pope may have been deceived by the similarity of the word *Tsar* to the Latin *Cæsar*; yet in a German letter from the Emperor Maximilian I. to Vassily Ivanovitch, said to have been discovered in the Russian archives, dated in 1514 and sealed with the golden bull, the word is *Kaisar*, and this induced Peter the Great to assert the same title. It is remarkable, however, that Peter made use of the Russian word *Povelitel* as its equivalent, rather than *Czar*. — *Coxe*, bk. iii. ch. 5.

hold his crown immediately from God, he assumed a lofty and even insolent style in his intercourse with foreign powers. His ambassador at Constantinople was charged to insist on precedence over all other envoys, and not to kneel even to the Sultan. At home he surrounded himself with all the insignia of oriental royalty. Whoever approached his presence, not excepting the princes and highest boyards, were obliged to prostrate themselves before they kissed his hand. The Kremlin exchanged its walls of wood for a castle and a church of more imperial aspect, and a coinage of silver and copper was issued for the first time in a Russian capital, though designed and executed by foreign artists.

A still more important change was effected in the condition of the boyards who formed the retinue of the crown. In every appanage the prince's power had rested mainly on the *droujina*, the members of which were rewarded by grants of land more or less extensive, and by a certain social rank accorded to their families. Still it was a *service* more than an order. Its members were appointed by the prince from all classes of the free population, and quitted the employment at their own pleasure. Ivan was fully alive to the danger which might ensue to his newly-founded monarchy from a number of armed bodies roving about on this independent footing. The absorption of the appanages having brought them all into the service of the common sovereign, he determined to remodel their condition, and retrench some of the privileges acquired under the several princes. With this object in view, the whole service was converted into an hereditary order. The members were bound to serve the crown in any function that might be assigned them, and precluded from the power of resigning or quitting their posts without

permission. In return each was endowed with landed estates, proportioned to the importance of his official functions. This was the foundation of the Russian nobility, which, in attaining a fixed hereditary rank before unknown, found itself, at the same time, committed to absolute irretrievable dependence on the pleasure of the crown. The more effectually to break up provincial traditions and associations, the chief nobles were removed from one district to another. The boyards of Novgorod received their lands and functions in Riazan or Yaroslaf, while those of the southern governments were transported to the north. The Mongol rule had extinguished the memory of ancient liberties, and all was to be henceforth at the absolute disposal of the crown. Even the church, to which Ivan owed so much, was allowed no exemption. The Czar interfered not only in discipline but in matters of faith. He deprived the metropolitan for heresy*, and inaugurated a successor with his own hands, after the manner of the Greek emperors.

The Czarina Sophia, a princess of much beauty, elegance, and spirit, had imported, along with the slavish customs of the Byzantine court, many of the arts which the rude Turks had banished from Constantinople. The course of trade now began to introduce Muscovite productions to the notice of Europe, and Ivan became a patron of commerce. He had not mistaken the

* "Nominally," writes the historian, "on account of habits of intemperance, *that scandal might not be caused* by publishing among the people his real and capital fault of heresy." (*Mouravieff*) The distinction is characteristic of a piety which was less shocked at the drunkenness, than at the heterodoxy, of a church dignitary. Perhaps the metropolitan's opinions were really not very discordant from those of our own Wickliff and Pecock, the latter of whom was deprived of the see of Chichester, just thirty-five years before, for questioning the infallible authority of the church. It is certain that the bulk of Russian ecclesiastics were altogether illiterate and their church books full of corruptions.

character of his people when he subjugated both the priests and the nobles to an iron autocracy. The misfortunes endured from the independence of the appanaged princes had sunk deep into the popular mind. The nation made its asylum in the throne, and the more arbitrary its edicts the stronger seemed the foundations of their security. The Czar was himself a true Russian, more crafty than cruel, fonder of negotiation than of arms, yet persevering and indomitable in his designs. The authority which he had asserted in life he determined to preserve in death. After a reign of forty-three years, he bequeathed his sceptre to a younger son by the Czarina Sophia, notwithstanding that the offspring of the elder by a former marriage had been actually crowned by the metropolitan with the diadem of Monomachus.

The reign of this successor, Basil III., in Russian nomenclature Vassily Ivanovitch, lasted twenty-eight years, and may be considered as a continuation of his father's in all that related to the public policy. He completed the internal consolidation of the monarchy, and, after a long struggle, succeeded in recapturing Kasan, where the Tartars had thrown off their dependency on the death of Ivan. He recovered Smolensk, also, from the hands of Sigismund, king of Poland and Lithuania. On the other hand, he lost the alliance of the Crimean Khan, and the southern districts were ravaged by his Tartars. The distinguishing feature of Basil's character is said to have been extraordinary piety, in acknowledgment of which he received a dispensation from the metropolitan Daniel (an ambitious monk who had dethroned his predecessor for attempting to promote the interests of learning*), to put away his wife after

* A rich collection of Greek MSS. had descended to the Czar from his mother and other ancestors, which he was desirous of having examined and

twenty years of married life, and contract a union with a woman named Helena.

The offspring of this unlawful marriage was another Ivan, who is scarcely less renowned than his great ancestor, under the appellation of "Ivan the Terrible." This prince's earliest years were coloured by that revolting combination of superstition and vice, which has ever been a prominent characteristic in Russian piety. His father, in the first transports of paternity, carried him to the church, and raising him on the tomb of St. Sergius placed the hope of Russia under the guardianship of the parent of Muscovite monasticism.* Three monks received the royal babe from the font, and four years after, when the Czar was overtaken by death, and could not expire in hope till he had received the priestly tonsure and the religious habit, the metropolitan hastened to administer to the boyards and people the oath of allegiance to the infant prince, under the regency of his mother.

arranged. Maximus, a learned monk of Mount Athos, was sent by the patriarch of Constantinople to undertake the task, and the opportunity was taken to ask his aid in correcting the church books. The "zeal which is not according to knowledge" immediately took alarm. Barlaam the metropolitan fled to a convent, and was succeeded by Daniel, who not only put a stop to the labours of the learned foreigner, but, deeming that he had seen too much of the Russian church to be allowed to report its condition at Constantinople, would not permit him to obtain his dismissal. Maximus having, with more courage than prudence, declared the Czar's divorce unlawful, was imprisoned in a monastery at Twer, and, notwithstanding his touching appeals and the intercession of several Greek patriarchs for his release, ended his days in confinement.

* Sergius was a native of Rostoff, who left his home in early youth to lead a hermit's life in the woods near Moscow. By dint of great labour he erected amid the haunts of wild beasts a wooden church, which was the origin of the celebrated monastery called the Troitsko (or Trinity) Lavra. He encouraged Demetrius Donskoi to his expedition against Mamai, and two of his monks fought in the ranks at Koulikoff, with the *schema* under their coats of mail. The tradition runs that Sergius was prostrate at the same hour in the midst of his monks before the altar, to implore the Divine blessing on his country's cause, when suddenly rising up, he announced that the Christians had triumphed, named the exact number of the slain, and commenced a mass for their souls on the spot.

Her vicious life, and the ambition of the nobles, soon brought about a revolution, which the regent vainly tried to avert by putting to death the three brothers of the deceased Czar. She was herself taken off by poison, and the government was seized by the conspirators. In the confusion that ensued, many of the provinces were devastated by roving Tartars. The Khans of Kasan and the Crimea uniting their forces in another invasion, penetrated within a short distance of the capital, and were repelled with difficulty. The council of boyards who administered the government was swayed by warring factions, and alternately treated the young prince with brutal indignity, or inflamed his savage nature to the most atrocious revenge. At thirteen years of age, on the instigation of his companions in a hunt, he set his dogs upon the president of the council, and the unhappy minister was actually worried to death in the open streets. New atrocities succeeded under the ascendancy of the rival party. There is even reason to think that the intellect, as well as heart, of Ivan, was permanently affected by the horrible scenes of his youth.*

All Russia was smitten with terror on the day when Moscow assumed her most festal appearance for the coronation of this prince. The ceremony was conducted in the cathedral of the Assumption†, with all the pomp that the metropolitan could imitate from the rites of Constantinople. The regalia of Monomachus, with others which accompanied Sophia into Russia, were

* Schuisky, the wretch who perished by the fangs of Ivan's dogs, on one occasion raised a night-alarm at Moscow, and dragged the prince from his bed, with the intention, it is said, of destroying his senses by terror.

† The special incident which the Russian church selects in its adoration of the Virgin is the fable of her *Assumption*,—in their phraseology, the “*Rest of our Lady*.” It is this legend which the principal churches are built to commemorate.

brought out. Macarius the metropolitan invested the monarch with the holy barma, and the chain and crown and cross of the Constantines. The rite was ratified by the authority of the patriarch of Constantinople, who sent his blessing to "the last scion of the imperial house," in a letter, subscribed by thirty-six metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops of the eastern church, which is still preserved in the archives of Moscow.

Other voices, however, than those of blessing were to greet this crowned and anointed Czar. Ivan awoke the next morning to find Moscow in flames, and the citizens, by whose hands it had been fired, imprecating curses on himself. Hearing that his uncle was murdered in the cathedral, the monarch fled in dismay to the Sparrow hills. Here his terrified conscience encountered an appeal yet more alarming. Silvester, a priest of Novgorod, suddenly stood by his side, with the Gospels in one hand, and pointing the other to the burning city, reasoned, like the apostle, of "righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come." Ivan trembled, and, summoning the metropolitan and bishops, made a solemn profession of penitence, which he renewed before all the people in the public square.* Silvester was made confessor to the Czar, and, under his direction and that of the metropolitan, a reign which had opened in blood began to show itself zealous for religion.

Reverting to the dedication of his childhood, the Czar commenced by making a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Sergius, and then to other monasteries, in company with his bride Anastasia Romanoff. He charged the several bishops and abbots to collect the lives of the holy men who had sought salvation by the

* The *Lobnoŭ Miesto*, literally 'place of a skull.' It was the place of execution as well as of public meetings.

works of the cloister, and twenty new saints were the fruits of the inquiry. A council was convened on various questions relating to the rites and discipline of the church, but the clergy were too little enlightened to arrive at any effectual measures of ecclesiastical reform.*

A more satisfactory proceeding was the assembly of the general Estates of the realm, to receive and promulgate a revised code of law prepared by the councillors of the Czar. The assembly consisted of the *three orders* which exist in all parts of Christendom, but which appear so rarely in the history of Russia. The spiritual estate was represented by the bishops and the abbots (*hegumens*) of the principal monasteries. The chamber of nobles (*douma boiarskaia*) consisted of three ranks denominated *boyards*, *okolnitchyi*, and *doumnyie dvoriane*. The third estate was composed of *representatives* elected by the parochial clergy, the inferior nobles or gentry, the merchants, and the town-burghers respectively. This appearance of representatives invested with the confidence of their fellow-subjects, at a period when Russia was still isolated from western civilization, is an incident deserving more attention than it appears to have received in subsequent legislation. It is equally remarkable that the laws adopted by this assembly contain the great principle of *trial by jury*, which had previously existed in the republican municipalities of Novgorod, Pskof, and Hlynov, and is probably an ancient Slavonic institution.†

The revised legislation was accompanied by an improved system of administration in the government,


* This council acquired the appellation of the "Council of the Hundred Chapters" from the number of its decrees; but it had no other effect than to prolong abuses which necessitated reform at a later period, and led to an extensive disruption in the church.

† Prince Dolgoroukow's *Vérité sur la Russie*, p. 152.

and a new assessment of fiefs and estates, by which the proprietors were obliged to contribute according to their means to the military strength of the realm. The result was an army of 300,000 men, in an improved state of discipline, suited to the work of coping with the Tartars. On the reduction of Kasan under Ivan the Great, a Mongol czar had been permitted to govern the vanquished tribe, in conjunction with the Russian viceroy. The latter was endured with difficulty, and, on the death of Ivan, the Tartars rose and put him to death. Vassily, on recapturing the place, removed the Mongol queen Soumbeka, with her youthful son, to Moscow; but the Kasanites obtained a new khan from Astrakhan, and again set the Russian power at defiance.

Ivan now marched with the blessing of the church, and at the head of a powerful army, to reconquer and christianize the rebellious Moslems. His enormous camp wore the appearance of a crusade. A tabernacle pitched near the tent of the Czar contained the sacred banner imitated from the *labarum* of Constantine.* Solemn services preceded and concluded every military movement. The metropolitan exhorted the troops to fear God, observe the church, serve the Czar, flee from drunkenness, and never *shave their beards*.†

Despising the terrors of the season, Ivan set out in

* The *labarum* was designed to commemorate the celebrated vision of Constantine, in which a cross appeared in the heavens, with the words in Greek, "By this thou shalt conquer." The principal standard carried before the emperor himself (imitations of which were dispersed through the army) consisted of a gilded spear, having a transverse bar from which a square banner of purple depended. The banner was richly embroidered with figures of the emperor and his two sons, and above the cross-bar was a crown enclosing the first two letters of the Saviour's name in a monogram, thus . The same device was emblazoned on Constantine's shield.

† The original letter is given in Prince Sherbatoff's History of Russia. See Platon, quoted by Mr. Blackmore in the Appendix to his translation of Mouravieff's church History.

the midst of winter, and invested Kasan with a twofold army of priests and soldiers. The attack and the defence were equally desperate. Availing themselves of a novel art, the Russian engineers carried a mine under the principal bastion, and sprang it during the celebration of the liturgy, at the moment when the deacon was reading from the Gospel, [†] "There shall be one fold and one shepherd." The explosion which followed appeared to both armies as a miracle. The walls were breached, the defenders retired; and the Czar, having entered in triumph, planted the cross in the centre of the conquered city. Then making its circuit with the sacred banners and pictures in procession, he consecrated the place to Christ. The creed of Mohammed was proscribed, the mosques were converted into churches, and a new temple of the Annunciation commemorated the illumination of the east.

The first results of such wholesale conversions are always political, and not evangelical. The Kasan Tartars were no better Christians after their enforced submission to the Russian church than before, but the next generation were to grow up in an atmosphere of Christianity instead of Mohammedanism. The public worship, government and law were placed under the influence of higher principles, and the people, by proper attention on the part of their pastors, might have been extensively incorporated in the religious, as well as the political, community of their conquerors. These results, however, have been so imperfectly realized that the bulk of the inhabitants continue Mohammedans to the present day.

The Czar returned in triumph to offer his thanksgiving at the tomb of St. Sergius. At the gates of the city he was met by the metropolitan and clergy in procession. Addressing them in an affecting speech, he

declared that his victories were the fruit of their prayers, and fell down before them in a transport of devotion. In the Kremlin the Czarina presented him an heir to his throne, born during his absence. The baptism of the infant prince was accompanied by that of the Tartar prisoners, Soumbeka and her son, together with the captured Khan, Ediger*; the metropolitan undertaking to vouch for their conversion. The conquered kingdom was erected into a diocese, with an archbishop ranking next to the Lord of Novgorod.† Ivan further signalized his victory by raising the most magnificent of all the churches of Moscow, in the name of the "Protection of the Most Holy Virgin."‡ This structure, which stands at the north-east of the Kremlin before the "Holy Gates" of the Saviour, strikes the eye by its extraordinary mass of building, half oriental and half gothic—an image of the Tartar city reposing under the shadow of the Muscovite sanctuary.

The conquest of Kasan was followed by that of Astrakhan, where a fragment of the horde commemorated, rather than continued, the once dreaded name of the Kaptshak. Their subjugation had been attempted in vain by the Turks, of whom 80,000 perished under Selim II. in the steppes. Ivan was more successful, and in adding another Tartar kingdom to his monarchy he enriched it with the vine and other valuable products of the south.

The greatest glory of this reign lay in the discovery of Siberia. The Kossacks about the sources of

* This chief received the name of Simeon with the title of Great Prince of Twer.

† The prelate of Novgorod enjoyed the title of "Lord" from the earliest times. It had a peculiar significance in the republic.

‡ Called in Greek, *ἐκτίσις τῆς παρθένης*. The name refers to a vision of one Andrew Salos in Constantinople, to whom the Virgin was said to have appeared in the clouds.

the Don and the falls of the Dnieper, owning no other bond than a common profession of Greek Christianity, had never ceased to harass the Lithuanians on one side and the Crimean Mongols on the other. Many of them were mere banditti, infesting the passes and levying contributions on travellers and merchandise. An adventurer of this kind, Yermak by name, hearing from a merchant of districts in the east inhabited by a race of Tartars, whose capital was called Sibir, pushed on in the direction described, and being supported and reinforced from his own tribes, at length overran the country and seized the capital. He then tendered his conquests to the Czar, soliciting a pardon for past delinquencies, and offering his Kossacks to extend and occupy the new territory. The offer being readily accepted, the work went rapidly forward. Towns were built, the mines taken possession of, and the whole country formally annexed to Russia.

With all this extension of dominion Ivan was not inattentive to civil and commercial improvements. He introduced the art of printing from Germany, by permission of the Emperor Charles V., and eagerly embraced an opening for maritime intercourse which was afforded by a visit of the English to Archangel in the year 1553.

Up to this time the Russian trade with Europe had been conducted, for the most part, through the Hanseatic towns, which had established factories in Novgorod and Pskof so early as 1276. From these factories the route was by land through Dorpt to Narva or Revel, and thence by sea to the mouth of the Elbe. On the 11th of May 1553, three ships were despatched from Deptford under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby, to explore the northern seas. After ascending the coast of Spitzbergen as high as the 72nd degree of north latitude,

the commodore, with the entire crews of two of his vessels, were frozen to death on the shores of Lapland; the third, commanded by Richard Chancellor, providentially reached the White Sea, and entered the mouth of the Dwina, then only occupied by the solitary monastery of St. Nicholas.

Chancellor, the first Englishman who ever landed in Russia, was immediately forwarded to Moscow, where Ivan courteously received the letters he was charged with from Edward VI., and gave orders for every attention to be shown him. This encouraging reception led to the formation of the Russian Company in England, and Chancellor returning to Moscow in 1555 obtained the Czar's authority to trade throughout his dominions, without payment of duties or tolls. Ivan further built a residence for the company's agents at Moscow, and throughout his reign continued actively to promote its objects.

This enlightened policy the historians agree in ascribing to the influence of the Czarina Anastasia, and to her removal they attribute the outburst of ferocity which flooded the remainder of the monarch's life, and, washing out every gentler hue, revealed in all its rigour the demoniacal nature of Ivan the Terrible. There would be little profit in recounting the details of crimes which revolt our common humanity. Macarius and Silvester found themselves powerless against the royal wrath when Anastasia was gone. Other counsels had reached the tyrant's ear. An old disgraced and imprisoned bishop, whose heart had been hardened by age and confinement in a cloister, told him that his authority depended on keeping no one about him wiser than himself; that to be truly a sovereign was to rule without counsellors, and the only way to be obeyed was to make himself dreaded.

These suggestions were but too well suited to Ivan's disposition. They sank into his heart and soon showed themselves in deadly fruit.

His wife died in 1560, leaving two sons, Ivan and Feodore. Silvester was forthwith accused by some who knew the tyrant's disposition of having poisoned the Czarina. He was tried at Moscow, and sentenced to wear out his days in the gloomy cells of the Solovetsky. Another prison received the virtuous councillor Ader-sheff, and having thus released himself from remonstrance, the Czar gave free course to his fiendish disposition. The friends and partisans of his exiled ministers were pursued with an unrelenting fury. Tortures, imprisonment, and death were inflicted without discrimination. One prince was stabbed by the Czar's own hand for remonstrating; another, menaced with the same fate, fled into Lithuania, where he leagued with Sigismund, King of Poland.* Thence he sent a letter to Ivan, charging him with all the blood and disaster brought upon the land, and threatening him with the judgment of the last day. This revolt was followed by an invasion of the southern Tartars at the instigation of Sigismund, who himself threatened a descent upon Moscow.

Ivan, exasperated beyond control, treated every one about him as involved in the rebellion. The clergy remonstrating with firmness, he had recourse to an expedient impossible in any other nation. At an early hour in December the great square of the Kremlin was seen filled with travelling sledges. The Czar descending with his family and retinue proceeded to the church, where having prayed with apparent fervour, he besought the blessing of the metropolitan; and, returning, held

* Sigismund I., son of Casimir III., succeeded his brother Alexander, A.D. 1506.

out his hand in silence to be kissed by the multitude; then mounting his sledge the cavalcade disappeared, while the inhabitants were lost in conjecture. Enslaved and uninstructed, the Muscovites had come to regard their Czar as the representative of the Divinity. In his withdrawal God himself was thought to retire from the city and the realm. After a month, in which no tidings were received, letters arrived to the metropolitan and the people, setting forth that thwarted by the clergy, and conspired against by the boyards, the Czar had taken refuge at Alexandrovsky, a fortress in the government of Vladimir, about 86 miles from Moscow. He assured the populace of his good will, declared that he had no complaint against them, but bade them farewell for ever.

It is not unlikely that such a monarch should indeed have provoked the disaffection of the virtuous and patriotic among the upper classes, but if so, they were too few or too powerless to declare themselves. Ivan well knew the incredible superstition of Russian loyalty. Nowhere in the world has "the right divine to govern wrong" been so passively acknowledged. "Thou wretch" (wrote the Czar to the prince who fled from his murderous hand), "why dost thou destroy thy traitor soul in saving by flight thy worthless body? If thou art really honest and virtuous, *why not die by the hand of thy master, and thereby obtain the crown of the martyrs?* What is life? What are earthly pomps and riches? Vanity! a shadow!" At another time he snatched up a knife and cut off one of the ears of a boyard who was bowing before him. The writhing courtier, without a sign of pain, thanked the Czar for his gracious favour, and wished him a happy reign. Where such abuses of the reasoning faculties could prevail no results are

surprising. The Muscovites burst into lamentations on the receipt of the royal epistle. The populace readily crediting the alleged conspiracies, were eager to offer up their authors to justice. The lower orders are seldom offended by the punishment of their superiors. "Has he not the power of life and death?" (they exclaimed); "let our Czár return and extirpate his enemies. God has given him for our head; we cannot exist without his presence." A deputation was sent to Ivan's retreat, where, prostrate in the dust, they implored his return for the sake of the millions who were perishing in his absence. The Czar exacted a promise that the clergy should not again interfere with the course of his justice, and then suffered himself to be reconducted to Moscow.

The infatuated citizens were moved with astonishment and sympathy at the change that had taken place in their monarch's appearance. His large and manly form had shrunk to a skeleton; his head, once covered with luxuriant locks, was now bald; his rich and flowing beard was reduced to a few ragged stumps; his eyes were dull, and his features savage with anguish. So great a revolution in a single month was attributed to grief and anxiety for the public good. It was in fact the effect of the internal rage and hate, which preyed like a never-dying worm on his vitals.

His first act was to divide the kingdom into two parts, one of which he reserved to himself, under the designation of the *personalty* or *peculiar**, the other he called *provincial* and committed to the care of his boyards. For the administration of the former, the Czar surrounded himself with a body-guard of 6000 young men called *Oprechniki* or *Peculiars*. This select legion, originally composed of nobles, was soon filled by ruffians

* *Oprechina*.

of the lowest class, who received from the people the designation of *Kromieshniki*, or familiars of the prince of darkness. Their employment was to slay, burn, and ravage at the will of the despot. They carried at their saddle-bow a dog's head, to intimate their readiness to worry his enemies, and a broom to sweep them from the face of the earth. Armed with long knives and hatchets, they roamed the streets and villages, murdering like the Tartars themselves.

These depraved and bloodthirsty ruffians Ivan had the unparalleled audacity to form into a monastic fraternity, of which he constituted himself the archimandrite. Retiring again to Alexandrovsky, which he surrounded with ditches and ramparts, he provided his crew with black vestments, below which were concealed costly furs and embroidery, and there set up a wild imitation of the ecclesiastical rule. The church was painted with brilliant colours, every brick being decorated with a cross. The mock "brothers" rose at three in the morning to matins, and after mass sat down to a sumptuous repast, while the Czar read aloud from a religious book. After dinner the royal abbot took his recreation in the dungeons, by witnessing the infliction of torture on some of his numerous victims. "Strange play of the human heart!" exclaims the church historian. "The religious habits of childhood which Ivan had imbibed with his mother's milk, the external form of religion which had become part of his nature, without having any hold upon or finding any echo in his heart, continually pierced through the hard and coarse covering of his passions, which in their turn had become his second nature. Deeply read in the Scriptures, and master of a powerful style in writing, from his terrible retreat he sent abroad fierce letters to the monasteries all around, accusing

them of neglecting their rule, and relaxing the strict discipline of the monastic life, of which he showed himself the most zealous maintainer."* Strange! (we may reply) that in presence of such an example the name of *religion* should be still given to garments and rules which "find no echo in the heart," and that the alternate ascendancy of two unregenerate passions should be mistaken for the all-important struggle between the spirit and the flesh! Ivan's superstition and cruelty were the kindred outflow of an unsanctified heart; both had their origin in FEAR, the shame and scourge of humanity. The Czar was tormented by an universal distrust of man, while towards God he never rose above the state which "believes and trembles." Destitute, like the devils, of that "love which casteth out fear," † there was nothing to quench or to allay the fire that raged unceasingly in his miserable soul.

His thirst for cruelty was not satisfied with individual suffering. The streets and squares were filled with corpses: still he sought excuses for larger and more indiscriminate massacres. The inhabitants of Torjek and Kolomna were given up to slaughter: the mass on some trivial provocation; but the full weight of his phrensy was reserved for the unfortunate Novgorod. A letter was found secreted behind an image of the Virgin in the cathedral of St. Sophia, addressed to the King of Poland, and containing an offer from the archbishop and citizens to surrender themselves again to his protection. The document is said to have been the work of a criminal wishing to escape from justice, and who was himself the Czar's informant. Ivan, however, at once pronounced the evidence complete, and proceeded at the head of his guards to execute judgment. Every-

* Mouravieff's History of the Church of Russia. † 1 John iv. 18.

thing was given up to fire and sword on the march. Passing through the town of Khu, he exterminated the whole population. At Twer his excesses recalled the memory of Usbek Khan's ravages two centuries before.* Philip, the metropolitan whom he had previously deposed, lay here confined in the Otroch monastery. The Czar sent one of his ruffians to his cell with a pretence of asking his blessing. "Execute thy mission," was all the good bishop said; and, being strangled on the spot, he was sainted by the Russian church as another John the Baptist.

Ivan's advanced guard, on reaching the devoted city, seized the houses and convents, and made prisoners of the whole population. On the arrival of the Czar, whose track was deluged with gore, the archbishop and clergy met him on the bridge with the usual benedictions; but interrupting them with curses on their whole order, he commanded them to go and celebrate the liturgy in the cathedral. The monarch followed, and joined in the service with his accustomed devotion. From the church he went to dinner in the refectory, where starting up in the midst of the feast, he uttered a terrible cry, and his familiars rushing in seized the archbishop, and dragged him off to prison. The palace was given up to plunder, and the cathedral ransacked of its treasures. The other churches and monasteries shared the same fate; after which commenced a deliberate massacre of the citizens. The Czar established a court justly denominated "the tribunal of

* One of the freaks of this Czar was to assume the dress of the hated Tartars, with which he would sometimes appear even in the churches, as if to strike terror into the hearts of the worshippers. He had been severely rebuked by the metropolitan Philip for so presenting himself in the cathedral of the Assumption, and the reproof being repeated on a later occasion was the cause of that primate's deposal and imprisonment.

blood." Here the inhabitants were dragged before him, and sentenced by hundreds. Some were burned alive, others cast into the river, the soldiers sailing about with long spears to insure their destruction. Husbands, wives, and children perished in the common doom. The slaughter lasted for five weeks, during which the houses were plundered, and all that the soldiers could not carry away was burned or thrown into the river. Ninety thousand persons are said to have perished in this massacre. The mortality was augmented by pestilence arising from the unburied carcasses, and famine followed as usual in the train.

After inflicting this ferocious revenge, the monster issued a pardon to the few survivors, and took his leave with a hypocritical request for their prayers. Out of the spoil of the religious houses, he erected two new churches in his favourite Trinity Lavra, and at the same time fortified the convent of Bielo-ozero with walls, to protect him from the rebellion he was always dreading.

Novgorod never recovered this disaster. Its dependency Pskof, which had been menaced with the same fate, escaped by an unexpected appeal to the Czar's superstition. When the trembling citizens came to meet him with bread and salt, according to the usage in Lent, a lunatic hermit rushed forwards with a piece of raw flesh. "I am a Christian," exclaimed the Czar, "I cannot eat flesh in the Great Fast." "Yet thou drinkest man's blood," rejoined the sturdy anchorite; and the tyrant, confounded by this home-thrust, retired without further mischief.

He returned to Moscow laden with plunder, and dragging with him in chains several persons of mark, destined to glut his passion for blood in a yet more fearful shape. After augmenting the number of his victims

by several arrests in the city itself, he caused eighteen gibbets to be erected in the streets, near to which were placed divers instruments of torture, with a great fire burning under an immense copper cauldron. The Muscovites fled in terror, but were recalled out of their hiding-places, by the express command of the Czar, to witness the spectacle he had prepared for them. Heading the dreadful procession in person, with his favourite son by his side, Ivan conducted three hundred victims to the place of execution. There, after a long harangue on the righteousness of his justice, which the trembling audience was compelled to applaud, he pardoned about a hundred and twenty of the number, and then passed sentence of death on the rest, addressing them one by one with fierce objurgations, accompanied by blows from his riding-whip. From the monarch the wretched victims passed to the grasp of the executioners, to be slaughtered in protracted and exquisite agonies. Some, after being hung up by the feet, were cut in pieces, and plunged into the boiling cauldron. The horrors were prolonged over four hours, during which nearly two hundred lives perished under the tyrant's eyes.

While he who called himself a god in his manifestoes* was thus acting the part of a demon to his subjects, the public enemy found him less than a man in the field. The executions which celebrated his return to Moscow were hardly over, when the Khan of Crimea, after ravaging the south with little opposition, made his appearance close to the capital, and set fire to the suburbs. Ivan fled back to Novgorod, where he sought to atone for his recent enormities by appointing another bishop,

* One of Ivan's many impious declarations to his unhappy subjects was couched in these awful words: "I am your god, as God is mine, and my throne is surrounded by archangels, as is the throne of God." Possibly with some allusion to the church of the Archangel in the Kremlin.

and multiplying his devotions. But he was no sooner released from his terror by the valour of his officers, than the new prelate suffered the fate of his predecessor, and the monarch returned to his former courses. "At every step of his life" (writes the historian) "we find acts of religion closely joined with murders; and there glimmer in strange mixture about him, at one time the forms of prelates, at another of his peculiars."*

Unhappily the prelates were quite as subservient, in their way, as any other instruments of the tyrant's will. One of the services demanded at their hands was the grant of dispensations for repeated marriages.† Ivan had no less than *seven* wives, of whom only the first and the last brought him male issue. Some writers have included our own Queen Elizabeth among the number of those who received the offer of his blood-stained hand; but the correspondence, still extant in the archives at Moscow, shows that his pretensions rose no higher than to one of her relatives. Chancellor's visit to Moscow had led to a friendly correspondence with the English court. In one of his letters the Czar expressed the fears which continually haunted him of the revolt of his subjects, and solicited an asylum in England, which was readily promised.‡ In another he asked for an English physician, and a Dr. Jacob was persuaded to proceed in that capacity. This gentleman happening to extol the beauty of the Lady Anne Hastings, whom he represented as a prince's daughter and niece to the queen,

* Mouravieff, 120

† "They granted him the dispensation contrary to the canons of the church, and imposed on him a certain penance (for the irregularity), but said nothing of the torrents of blood which he had shed."—*Ibid.*

‡ The letter containing this promise was dated 16th May 1570, which being just the period of Ivan's extraordinary departure from Moscow, confirms his apprehensions of a conspiracy. It bears the signature of Elizabeth, and of her secret council, including Bacon, Leicester, and Cecil.

the Czar instantly determined to solicit her hand, though he was but just married to his seventh wife.* An ambassador was actually despatched to London on this hopeful mission, with instructions to explain that Ivan was at liberty to divorce his wife, since she was only a subject, and also to demand a portrait of the intended bride. The lady had but just recovered from the small-pox, but whether or not the court painter introduced any memento of this disaster, the portrait was sent, and with it an English ambassador commissioned to obtain a more explicit proposal.† The Czar was furious at the delay, and his anger was increased by the ambassador's unflattering account of the lady's personal appearance, and his denial that she was related to the queen.‡ Ivan insisted that some kinswoman of her majesty should be sent to him; if not, he would go himself with all his treasure, and marry one in England. The negotiations however were terminated by the tyrant's death the next year.

Meantime the borders of the distracted kingdom had been harassed by new and powerful foes. Finding it impossible to retain under his own dominion the conquests he had made in Livonia, Ivan transferred the sovereignty to a brother of the king of Denmark, on condition of his espousing a relation of his own. All his exertions, however, in support of the newly-erected throne, proved unavailing. The Swedes

* Coxe says, "his *fifth* wife, Maria Feodorovna;" but as he calls this lady the mother of Demetrius, and says she survived the Czar, she was clearly his last and seventh wife.

† This gentleman was Sir Jerome Bowes, of whom a story is told, that presuming to wear his hat in the Czar's presence, the tyrant ordered it to be nailed to his head. The *execution* of this order is negated by the silence of the correspondence.

‡ The physician's hyperbolical account may possibly have grown out of the royal custom of addressing dukes and earls by the style of "cousin."

kept possession of Esthonia; the Livonian knights occupied Courland; and the rest was threatened by an invader whom Ivan had provided against himself. The elective thrones of Poland and Lithuania had been offered by the Estates a little before to Feodore his second son; but Ivan, inflated with the ambition of annexing these dominions to his own, refused the offer, and it was transferred to Stephen Battori, prince of Transylvania, a hero who had grown grey in war.

The new monarch rushed into the field as the determined enemy of Ivan. He sent him a letter filled with accusations of perfidy and inhumanity, and ending with a challenge to personal combat. Having taken Polotsk, he pitched his tent under the walls of Pskof, and commenced a long and harassing siege; while Ivan, a prey to terror, could only send entreaties for peace. The Czar even implored the mediation of the pope, by whose intervention an armistice was brought about which deprived Russia of her pretensions to Livonia, and greatly advanced the Latin influence in Lithuania.

The close of this long and sanguinary reign was now at hand. It was accelerated by a deed of the darkest hue, which the Czar's apologists seek to extenuate as a mischance rather than a crime. Ivan habitually carried an iron rod, with which in the frequent sallies of his rage he would unhesitatingly inflict the most savage blows. His eldest and favourite son Ivan, approaching him with a petition for a command of troops against the Poles, the suspicious tyrant broke into a fury, and accused the prince of conspiring for his dethronement. Blows followed, as usual, from the fearful weapon in his hand, till the Czarovitch was stretched bleeding on the ground. The monarch flung himself by his son in remorse as sudden and as terrible as his wrath. But it

was too late. "I die," murmured the prince, "an obedient son, and a faithful subject." He was carried to Alexandrovsky, where death ended his sufferings in four days.

This event, not the less culpable because flowing from an habitual ferocity rather than a present murderous design, penetrated the heart which had proved so callous to the miseries of other men. The tyrant became a prey to remorse and terror, alternated by outbursts of his ancient passion.

A dangerous illness having encouraged a prediction of his approaching dissolution, the savage seized the astrologers, and threatened to roast them alive. On the 18th March 1584, the day foretold as his last, he actually ordered them to be put to death as deceivers. The poor wretches adjured him to wait at least till the day was ended; and a few hours after, as he was arranging the pieces for a game of chess, the monarch was seized with a sudden pang, and, falling back on his bed, expired without a word. The servility of the church continued to the last. While he lay insensible, or perhaps dead, "the metropolitan, knowing his sovereign's wish, approached to give him the tonsure in the name of his favourite monastery, *Biëlo-ozëro*; and so, from the terrible John, he became the simple monk Jonah, and rendered up his spirit to the heavenly Judge of his dreadful reign on earth.*

History affords no similar example of the effects of arbitrary power when entrusted to a savage and unregenerate nature. No barbarian ever inflicted wilder and more frightful torments on human creatures than this zealous promoter of the fine arts. No eastern despot, nurtured in the precepts and promises of the

* Mouravieff.

Koran, ever revelled in blood and lust to greater excess than this reformer of the church, this diligent student of the Holy Scriptures. His character may be compared, in many points, with his contemporary Henry VIII. of England. There was the same strange combination of literature and barbarity; the same ferocity of temper mixed with a pride in religious controversy; the same indifference to human suffering, coupled with the same arrogant pretensions to Divine authority; the same unbridled rage in the exercise of the power conceded by a terror-stricken people. Singularly enough, too, both were the patrons of the first translation of the Bible into the language of their respective countries. But the crimes of the English despot were strangely surpassed and caricatured in the excesses of this Russian contemporary. The epigram which satirized the inhumanity of the one is tame when applied to the devilry of the other—"He spared no man in his anger and no woman in his lust."

Nor can we trace in the monster who devastated his native land, and cowered pusillanimously before its enemies, any of the compensating qualities of Henry VIII. The great power of the English king was ever directed to his country's glory. His arbitrary authority was wielded as a counterpoise to the still more enslaving usurpation of the Roman pontiff; in bursting his chains, it gave liberty to the souls and bodies of succeeding generations. The Czar, too, engaged in a warfare with a corrupt and superstitious priesthood; but there was no spiritual principle at issue, and the contest resulted in the extinction of every liberty, civil and religious. Henry is an example of the danger of entrusting irresponsible sway to a fine natural disposition, animated by national aspirations, and impatient

of foreign control. Ivan remains a warning how closely human nature can assimilate itself to that of devils when unlimited power is joined to a servile spirit and a malicious heart.

The sceptre having been deprived of its proper heir by the crowning act of Ivan's guilt, now fell to the puny grasp of his second son Feodore. The States-General were again assembled, and there was hope of a calm after the storms which had devastated the nation. But the feeble prince succumbed to the influence of his wife's brother, Boris Godunoff, who dissolved the Estates the same year, and renewed the reign of unbridled despotism.

This man, descended from a Tatar who embraced Christianity in the early part of the fourteenth century, was distinguished for ability and address, not less than for a large fortune amassed in the employ of the court. These advantages were inspired by an ambition which proved fatal both to the throne and himself. Feodore having no male issue, the last heir of the royal blood of Rurik, by the line of the Muscovite dynasty, was Ivan's youngest child, the infant Demetrius. This prince, with his mother Maria, were sent to dwell at Ouglich, and soon after it was alleged that the child had met a bloody death in the eighth year of his age. The emissaries despatched by Boris to examine into the circumstances reported that the boy had destroyed himself in a sudden phrensy, and his mother was compelled to take the veil as a punishment for her want of attention. The inhabitants of the place, on the other hand, affirmed that they had found the prince weltering in his blood under the blows of assassins, whom they seized and put to death in the first transports of their indignation. The town was soon after reduced to ashes

by a fire, and the affair seemed to be forgotten at court; but the people charged the murder of the prince, the slaughter of his assassins, and the destruction of the town, all upon Boris, who was no doubt the only person to profit by the crimes.

Their murmurs were interrupted by an incursion of the Crimean Tartars, who after eluding the forces on the Oka actually reached the height above Moscow, and were only repulsed after a long and doubtful conflict. The fame of this victory stifled for a while the popular indignation; and Boris resuming the civil administration proceeded to some important changes both in church and state.

The hierarchy had long been sensible of a defect in their relations with the rest of the oriental communion. Nominally included in the patriarchate of Constantinople, distance and the natural aversion to foreign supremacy had rendered the Russian church practically independent. Vladimir, indeed, installed his first metropolitan on the election of the bishops, without any reference to the patriarch; still the rule had been for the patriarch to admit or confirm the metropolitan, and to require his obedience to the Greek canons. This course becoming impossible after the fall of Constantinople, when all communication was interrupted, the metropolitans were appointed by the Czar and the bishops, without any confirmation from the patriarch, though still accounting themselves part of his spiritual province.

This exclusive subjection to the temporal power was distasteful to the Russian bishops, who, moreover, complained of the irregularity as impairing the unity of the catholic church. Russia now formed the largest part of the oriental communion, and seemed entitled to an

independent primate. It was urged, too, that a fifth patriarch was necessary to the church at large, in place of the Roman pontiff, whom the Greeks invariably speak of as fallen from the catholic fellowship.

The project was first broached to a patriarch of Antioch, who came into Russia in quest of alms, and renewed to Jeremiah of Constantinople, when he also was reduced to visit Moscow, after being imprisoned and expelled by the Turks. The negotiation seems to have been conducted by Boris throughout; and it was brought to a successful issue by the munificence of his contributions to the patriarch's necessities. On the 26th January 1589, the metropolitan of Moscow was solemnly consecrated by his former superior to the patriarchate of Russia. The new patriarch was a dependent of Boris, and the great courtier condescended to hold his bridle as he rode round the walls to give his blessing to the city.

Having thus gratified the clergy, Boris proceeded to a reform which was designed to conciliate the boyards. This was nothing less than consigning the whole rural population to serfdom. Up to this time the Russian peasant, not having forfeited his liberty by agreement or by the sentence of the law, was free to choose his own occupation and place of abode. His liberty has been termed wild and nominal, and it is certain that the pressure of necessity and ignorance admitted few of the privileges enjoyed in wealthier and more populous countries. The vast extent of the estates occasioned a wide separation of the scanty population. There was no concert among the working classes, and no public opinion to act on the employer. Hence the bulk of the people were practically under the necessity of hiring themselves out on the terms of the masters. Still they

retained the power of moving from place to place in quest of more favourable conditions, and it is this power which constitutes the essential distinction between a freeman and a slave.

The great practical value of the advantage may be inferred from the reasons assigned for its abolition. The nobles complained that their authority and personal influence were diminished by the power of the peasant to remove from any jurisdiction which he disliked. The inferior landowners wanted labourers to cultivate their lands, while the northern provinces were in fear of being deserted for the milder climate and more fertile soil of the south. Such are the pretences on which the strong in every age have tried to make slaves of the helpless. On no better grounds the whole agricultural population were chained to the soil by an ordinance that no one should be permitted to change his abode without license. No provision was made for their subsistence, no tribunals established for their protection. They were simply despoiled of the means of self-defence, and left to the pleasure of their employers.

After ingratiating himself with the nobility by the sacrifice of the people, and with the clergy by raising the dignity of their order, Boris proceeded to please the trading classes by attending to the interests of commerce. The town and port of Archangel were commenced. Smolensk was fortified against any future incursions from the west, and Ural built to open the trade with the east. Siberia, which had been almost abandoned after its first conquest, was reoccupied, and the town of Tobolsk was erected near the ancient capital. The southern frontier was cleared of the roving Tartars, who were restrained to their deserts by military posts in connexion with an open town of the

Kossacks built on the Volga. Peace was concluded on favourable terms with Sweden and Poland ; and Russia, having acquired its first territory beyond the Caucasus by the submission of the Prince of Georgia, a fortress on the Terek marked the advanced limit of the empire.

At this juncture, so favourable to the ambition of Boris, Feodore died (not without suspicion of poison), and the line of Moscow became extinct. The crown was awarded by acclamation to his widow Irene, and for a few days the public affairs were transacted in her name, under the direction of the patriarch. But the Czarina repudiating the offer and withdrawing to a cloister, attention was divided between Feodore Romanoff, a maternal cousin-german of the deceased Czar, and Boris, who had been the virtual ruler for the last fourteen years. The reputation of the latter, backed by the influence of his sister and the patriarch, prevailed. After an affectation of reluctance he accepted the election, and was publicly crowned with the diadem of Monomachus.

With many qualities that might have conferred lasting benefit on his country, the reign of Boris was no exception to the rule, that a doubtful title in the crown is the most prolific source of misery to the people. An elected monarch was regarded by the nobles and clergy with little of the reverence shown to the royal dynasty. They became at once opponents of his measures and objects of his suspicion. Recourse was had to the usual weapons of usurpers — death, imprisonment, and exile. The Romanoff family, being allied to the royal house, were especial objects of alarm. Five brothers were sent to different prisons, where four of them died. Feodore, the person named as a candidate for the throne, was compelled to receive the tonsure under the name of

Philaret ; and his youthful son Michael shared the confinement of an uncle at Bielo-ozero.

Many other persons of rank were visited with equal rigour, while the populace were courted with extraordinary attentions. A famine, which devastated the country, and was followed by pestilence occasioning a vast mortality, gave opportunity for the exercise of both branches of the royal policy. The Czar, opening his own treasures with a liberal hand, compelled the nobles and clergy to follow his example, to the exhaustion of their resources. The popularity, however, so acquired, was of brief duration. His apprehensions of conspiracy increasing instead of subsiding by time, his severity extended itself to all classes of society. The peasantry were loaded with augmented restrictions. The heads of families being made answerable for the other members, were invested with an arbitrary power of punishment, extending to death itself. Wives and children became the slaves of the father, as he was of the landlord. The serfs were kept still closer to their villages, and the wandering minstrels, who cheered their bondage with legends of happier days, were rigorously put down.

From this iron rule vast numbers of the peasantry fled to the Kossacks and into Poland ; and the empire was approaching to a state of servile rebellion, when the throne was suddenly challenged by a new and unexpected claimant.

The native historians all concur in regarding this pretender as an impostor ; but the investigations of others lead to the conclusion that he was in fact (as he professed to be) Demetrius, the youngest son of Ivan IV. His own account was that his mother, apprehensive of the designs of Boris, had conveyed him into a mona-

stery, adopting another child who took his name, and was slain by the assassins in mistake for himself. His opponents, on the other hand, affirmed that he was a monk named Gregory Otressief, who, on the strength of some personal resemblance to the murdered prince, now assumed his name and laid claim to his inheritance.

This Gregory, however, was the person who took charge of the young prince in his escape out of Russia, and, afterwards returning with him to Moscow, a French officer in the service of Boris, who was continued under Demetrius, attests that the two were in the city together, the monk being ten or eleven years older than the prince.* This testimony seems decisive. The agreement of the Russian writers to the contrary is explained by their accounts being compiled long after the events, and from the manifestoes of Boris, while the public opinion has been formed by these historians and by the authority of the church, which having canonized the murdered prince, and pretended to work miracles by his uncorrupted remains, makes it an article of the faith to reject the story of his escape. Certainly the prevailing opinion of his contemporaries was in favour of the pretender; and the imposture, if it be one, must be allowed to be the most successful on record.

His claims were first divulged in Poland, whither Demetrius (as we must call him) had escaped from his place of concealment in Russia. Being readily sanctioned by the king (Sigismund III.) and his nobles, the Voivode of Sendomir betrothed his daughter to him in marriage, and he was enabled, in the month of August 1604, to enter Russia at the head of 4000 Poles. The Don Kossacks embraced his cause with ardour. An

* *Etat de l'empire de Russie, par le capitaine Margaret.*

army of 40,000 men, sent against him by Boris, was put to the rout; but a second force under Prince Vassili Shuiski inflicted a signal defeat, and Demetrius was abandoned by his Polish allies.

The Russians, nevertheless, repaired to his standard in greater numbers than before, and an insurrection in his favour at Moscow provoked all the severity of the Czar for its suppression. The patriarch excommunicated the rebels, while Shuiski made public protestation that having been one of the commission to examine into the murder at Ouglich, he had personally seen and identified the body of the prince. Still, as Shuiski was in the Czar's interest, and universally esteemed his accomplice in the assassination, his testimony had but little effect.

Disinclined at the progress of the defection, and a prey to his own reflections, Boris swallowed poison and died, April 1605. The patriarch and nobles at Moscow ventured to place his son Feodore on the throne; but the commander-in-chief, with the army and many persons of distinction, went over to Demetrius, who immediately advanced on the capital. The towns by the way opened their gates with acclamations, and the populace of Moscow rose in arms at his approach. The palace being stormed, the unhappy Czar was dragged out and strangled. Another band of insurgents rushed to the church, where the patriarch was celebrating the liturgy, and stripping off his pontifical robes hurried him back to his monastery.

Demetrius entered in triumph on the 30th June, and took possession of the throne amid the acclamations of the people. His first act was to send for his mother, whom Boris had imprisoned in a distant convent, while a disclaimer of the pretender was circulated in her name.

Demetrius rode out at the head of a numerous procession to meet her carriage. They embraced each other with tears, the Czarina publicly recognised him for her son, and the new Czar was crowned with the usual ceremonial, after which his mother was installed in a monastery in the Kremlin.

The next step was to proceed to the election of a new patriarch. Having little cause to confide in the Russian prelates, who had launched an anathema at all his party, the Czar selected a Greek, then filling the see of Riazan. Next he reversed the unjust sentences passed against his own relations and friends. The remains of his mother's brothers and of the Romanoffs, who had died in their prisons, were transported with honour to Moscow, while the surviving exiles of both families were recalled and loaded with honours. Philaret, being excluded from secular promotion by the priestly tonsure, was made metropolitan of Rostoff. The Czar extended his grace even to his enemies. Shuiski, who had been justly sentenced to death for the double offence of conspiring his death at Ouglich, and denying his identity afterwards, was reprieved on the scaffold, and even the penalty of exile was remitted. Demetrius acted as one who thought himself secure against further opposition; but he lost all by ignorance or contempt of the deeply rooted prejudices of his subjects.

His connexion with the Poles had inspired him with a regard for their habits, than which nothing was more offensive to the Russians. The Czar was even suspected of desiring a union with the detested church of Rome. These suspicions, eagerly disseminated by the bigoted clergy, received too much countenance from the conduct of Demetrius himself. Along with his coronation he celebrated his marriage with his betrothed Marina.

The concourse of Poles to the capital on this occasion disgusted its inhabitants, little accustomed to foreigners, and regarding that nation as hereditary enemies. They were shocked at the immodesty of the western manners*; they were infuriated at the sight of Latin ecclesiastics, and indignant at the favours bestowed on the strangers. Two Russian prelates demanded that the bride should renounce the errors of Rome, and be baptized before the marriage. The objection was overruled, and the popular indignation was aggravated by permission being granted to Romish priests and Lutheran pastors to perform their different services in the Kremlin. Shuiski exerted himself by every means to inflame the general discontent. The legitimacy of the Czar was again called in question; and the night of the double festivity was spent in conspiracy and agitation.

The tocsin sounded in the morning. With a sword in one hand and the cross in the other, Shuiski summoned the citizens to defend their altars and their hearths. He was supported by the prelates and clergy. A crowd of armed men rushed to the Kremlin; the foreign guards were overpowered, and the Czar, throwing himself out of a window, was taken up with one of his legs broken. Being commanded to confess his imposture, the steadfastness with which he reiterated his claims somewhat shook the assailants; till Shuiski, having repaired to the cell of his mother, brought word that she repudiated him†, and he was immediately sacrificed

* The Russians at this time being quite oriental in their habits, subjected their women to the usual seclusion of the east. But the Poles have always had a reputation for licentiousness, and doubtless gave abundant cause of offence.

† This final disclaimer is insisted upon by the Russian writers as conclusive; but it is obvious that both this disclaimer, and that which Boris had published in her name at the outset, are tainted by the quarter through which they proceeded, while the acknowledgment of Demetrius came from Maria's own mouth, in presence of the authorities and the whole population of Moscow.

to the rage of the insurgents. His body was cast to the flames, and his ashes to the winds, as unworthy of reposing in the sacred soil of Russia. The lives of the Czarina, her father, and the Polish ambassadors, were respected, but of the other Poles hardly one escaped the fury of the populace.

The period that followed may be considered as an interregnum, rather than as the reign of any of the individuals who successively attained to power. The vacant throne was seized by Schuiski; but, as if the ghost of Demetrius could never be laid, new pretenders appeared in his name in different parts of the country, and the empire was torn with civil discord.* One of these, a Polish schoolmaster, was actually recognised as her husband by Marina, who panted only to revenge her wrongs upon Schuiski. The more effectually to refute his pretensions, Schuiski concerted with the new patriarch, who had been elevated for his boldness in demanding the baptism of Marina, to transport the remains of the young prince from Ouglich to Moscow, and enrol his name in the calendar of the saints. The deputation sent to open the grave readily vouched for the usual evidences to the merits of the deceased. "An agreeable odour filled the church, the body was uncorrupted, and the very clothes entire. One of his hands grasped *some nuts which the young prince had been eating at the time of his assassination.*" This incident, conceived in all the craft of a cunning superstition, had a prodigious effect on the ignorant populace. The "uncorrupted body" was of course supposititious†; but its authenticity and

* One pretender assumed the name of Peter, giving himself out for the son of the Czar Feodor, whom Boris had exchanged in infancy for a daughter.

† The evidence adduced by the Russians in proof of the genuineness of the corpse, is exactly that which raises the greatest doubt in the minds of others. Notwithstanding the official statement of the commissioners, the story still current at Moscow is, that the body was sought for in vain at Ouglich, but

sanctity were maintained by miracles. When it had been deposited in the church, several sick persons declared themselves relieved by the interposition of the saint. By these tokens, the imposture both of the late Czar and of all the existing pretenders was held to be unequivocally demonstrated.

There was another enemy, however, who needed to be encountered with more substantial weapons. The Poles, taking advantage of the disturbances, invaded the empire in force, and avenged their injuries by the utter rout of the army, and the capture of Smolensk. A party of their troops, then joining with the pretender Demetrius, conducted him to the walls of Moscow, which opened its gates at their approach, and submitted without a blow. Schuiski was compelled to abdicate, and receive the tonsure in a monastery. The Polish commander, however, had little thought of placing an obscure schoolmaster on the Russian throne. By practising alternately on the fears and hopes of the nobles, he obtained an offer of the crown for the son of his own sovereign, coupled with the condition of his embracing the Greek rite. Sigismund, who was still at Smolensk, perceiving how readily this concession was obtained, determined to seize the vacant sovereignty himself, and to incorporate Russia with his own dominions. He rejected the proposals, therefore, under pretext of religious zeal, and treacherously sent the ambassadors, one of whom was Philaret the unhappy prelate of Rostoff, into Poland to a prison.

The Russian nation was now apparently in its last agonies, when the church intervened to its rescue, and reanimated the expiring liberties of the country.

arose, coffin and all, from the ground, and spontaneously presented itself to a longing people. — *Kohl's Russia.*

The Russian clergy, however illiterate and superstitious, have always been found eminently patriotic. Disdaining allegiance to a foreign superior, and united to their country's interests by the ties of married life, their first thought was given to religion, and the next to their native land. They had warmly opposed the offer of the crown to a heretic and a foreigner, and when overruled by the nobles, they insisted on imposing the condition that the prince should be baptized into the communion of the national church. By the rejection of this condition, and the outrage inflicted on the messengers, Sigismund had defied at once the principles of the church and the most cherished feelings of the people. The patriarch came forward at the head of the clergy to resist his pretensions. Letters were sent through the country inciting the population to rise for the orthodox faith. The insurrection began in Moscow, and was resented by the Poles setting fire to the city and massacring the inhabitants. The flames raged for three days unchecked, and a hundred thousand Russians perished in the slaughter. Still the national spirit was unsubdued. Rallying behind the walls of the Trinity Lavra, the Muscovites returned to the contest, animated by the exhortations and the valour of their monks. Other monasteries became the centres of similar efforts. Sigismund getting alarmed sent, when it was too late, to accept the crown for his son, and promise conformity to the national rite. The spirit of the nation was now fairly roused, and it would endure no terms with the foreigner. The struggle was long, but decisive. The Poles were driven into the Kremlin, where they were at last admitted to capitulate, on condition of evacuating the capital.

This liberation of Moscow was accomplished in the

year 1613, three years after its surrender to the Poles, and fifteen from the death of Feodore. The whole interval had been one of revolution and war. The States-General, on assembling to fill the vacant throne, had to relay the foundations of monarchy, and almost to reorganize the nation.

The first requisite was to elect a Czar, and the choice was determined by considerations which have too rarely obtained currency in Russia. The royal line of Moscow was indisputably extinct, but the blood of Rurik still flowed in the veins of several families descended, through the appanaged princes, in a direct male line from the first founder of the empire. All these, however, were passed over, and the unanimous voice of the Estates fell upon Michael Romanoff, a youth of seventeen years of age, the offspring of a foreign and even plebeian stock. It is true that this youth represented the venerated name of his father Philaret, the undaunted prelate who had himself been nominated for the crown on the death of Feodore, and was now languishing in a Polish prison for the cause of the national religion. Still there were other and higher considerations which conduced to the election of Michael. The character of the father, and the teachable age of the son, encouraged the expectation of imposing some constitutional restraints on the unmitigated despotism which had so long scourged the land. A letter was produced in the Assembly, purporting to be written by Philaret, in which he besought the States not to grant the new sovereign the former autocratical power, but to insist on sharing the legislation themselves. The letter was forged, but its production shows the disposition which animated the electors, and there can be little doubt that it materially affected the choice of his son.*

* *La Fécité sur la Russie*, 162.

Michael was living humbly with his mother in the retirement of the cloister, when the deputies arrived with the offer of the imperial crown. It was long before a mother's heart could consent to his acceptance of so dangerous an elevation. Being then conducted to Moscow in a religious procession along the line of monasteries, which served as the fortresses of the emancipated realm, he received the crown of Monomachus from the hands of the three metropolitans (in the vacancy of the patriarchate), amid the acclamations of the people. His accession was not merely the inaugurating of a new dynasty, it was the beginning of a new empire.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MODERN EMPIRE.

Influence of the Russian Dynasties—House of Romanoff—States-General—Czar Michael—Concessions to Sweden and Poland—Philaret Patriarch—Revival of the Autocracy—New Restraints on the Serfs—Abolition of popular Tribunals—Church Reforms—"Seamless Coat"—Czar Alexis—War with Poland—Acquisition of Lithuania and the Kossack Territory—The Patriarch Nikon—His Career and Influence—Translation of St. Philip—Reforms in the Church—Schism of the "Old Believers"—Abdication of Nikon—His Trial and Imprisonment—His Release and Death—Insurrection of Kossacks—Marriages and Death of Alexis—Czar Feodore—Abolition of the *Mestnichestvo*—Contest for the Throne—Joint Coronation of Ivan and Peter—PETER'S Youth and Marriage—He seizes the Government—Foreign Officers—Patrick Gordon—Empire created anew by Peter—His private Character—Organization of a standing Army—and of a Navy—Conquest of Azof—Disaffection at Moscow—Savage Executions—Visit to Amsterdam—Czar a Labourer in the Dockyard—Visit to England—Deptford Dockyard—Return to Moscow—Revolt and Extermination of the Strelitz—Sanguinary Scenes—Divorce of the Empress—Imprisonment of Sophia—Change of Costume—Remodelling of the Nobility—Church Reforms—Change of the Style—Abolition of the Patriarchate—Social Reforms—Charles XII. of Sweden—Defeat of the Russians in Ingria—Foundation of Petersburg and Cronstadt—Conquest of Ingria and Courland—Treachery of Poland—Invasion of Russia by Charles XII.—Country devastated—Retreat to the Ukraine—Battle of Pultowa—Flight of Charles—Russian Conquests—War with Turkey—Peter's Danger on the Pruth—Humiliating Peace—CATHERINE—Singular History—Proclaimed *Czarina*—Conquest of Finland—Petersburg declared the Russian Capital—Second Visit to the European Courts—Return to Russia—The Czarovitch Alexis—His Education and Sentiments—Escape to Vienna—Peter's false Promises—Return and Arrest of the Czarovitch—His Prosecution, Trial and secret Execution—Peter's false Manifesto—Cruel Treatment of the Empress Eudocia and her Friends—Death of Catherine's Son Peter—New Scheme for the Succession—Renewal of the War with Sweden—Peace of Neustadt—Rejoicings in Russia—Expedition to the Caspian—Acquisitions from Persia—Coronation of Catherine—Death of Peter—His Character.

THE history of Russia is, more than any other, a history of royal houses. Nothing great or lasting ever sprang from the nobles or the people. The clergy, though

always patriotic, were illiterate and narrow-minded; their energies expended themselves in maintaining the ecclesiastical ritual, and in preaching the divine authority of the consecrated monarch. Civilization and morality could expect little from an order which was more scandalized by the heterodoxy, than by the drunkenness, of its prelates. The first empire rose and fell with the line of Rurik; the first monarchy was the creature of the Muscovite dynasty. The existing government, pretending to be a revival and combination of both, is the work of the house of Romanoff.

The founder of this family was an obscure Prussian, who settling in Russia about the middle of the fourteenth century, produced a race distinguished for the beauty of its women and the spirit and intelligence of the men. These qualities enabled it to supply several of the Muscovite sovereigns with consorts and with councillors, and as the royal line decayed, attention became directed to this family as its most likely successor. Boris Godunoff felt himself insecure till death or the tonsure had removed these dangerous rivals out of his way. One youth alone escaped his merciless vigilance, and to him was now entrusted the restoration of the empire.

In passing over the blood of Rurik, to give the crown to a foreigner only collaterally allied to the throne, the State-General undoubtedly anticipated a further development of their own constitutional action. Michael began his reign under their advice, and for a few years they formed a real power in the monarchy. The Czar took an oath to consult the States in all measures of government; not to publish laws, nor to make war or peace, without their concurrence; and not to put any one to death, or to confiscate his property, until convicted according to law.

All the wisdom of the nation, as well as all the power of the sovereign, was undoubtedly needed at this formidable juncture. The Swedes had invaded the country as far as Novgorod, where the citizens were reduced to make an offer of the Russian crown to a younger son of the king. Ladislaus of Poland claimed the same dignity in right of his election on the death of Shuiski. He had taken Smolensk, and beating back the Russian forces sent to besiege him, appeared within a short distance of Moscow, where he was only arrested by the fortifications of the Trinity Lavra. Other provinces were in the hands of different Russian factions. Trade was extinct; the roads were infested with robbers; and the exchequer was so impoverished that the Czar's coronation banquet was served in pewter vessels, for lack of silver or gold.

Peace was the first necessity, and peace demanded the sacrifice of the provinces already in the hands of the enemy. The Swedes retained Ingria and Karelia, along with the Livonian and Esthonian provinces formerly wrested from them by Russia. Poland extorted the remainder of Livonia, together with Smolensk, and all the districts to the west, including Courland, Servia, and Tchernigoff. In return, Ladislaus made a formal renunciation of his barren claim to the Russian throne.

The treaty with Poland, concluded in 1619, was followed by the liberation of the Russian prisoners. Philaret returned to Moscow, amidst the utmost demonstrations of joy by the Czar and the people. He was immediately raised to the vacant dignity of patriarch, and decorated with the title of *Veliki Hospodar*, never before conferred on an ecclesiastic. The Czar associated his father with himself in the honours and functions of the sovereignty. He loved to have him sit by

his side during the reception of foreign envoys, who often brought with them letters specially addressed to the patriarch. He was consulted on all affairs of state, and being a man of ability and energy, generally directed the conclusions.

Unhappily for the cause of constitutional government, Philaret not only repudiated the advice given in his name at the election of the Czar, but set himself actively to retrace every step which had been taken in compliance with it. He reduced the Estates to their former position of a consultative body, assembled at the will of the sovereign to register his edicts. He removed the leading boyards from the chambers by appointing them to distant governments, and, of his own authority as patriarch, relegated the clerical deputies to the cloister. He even proceeded to destroy the charter of his son's election, signed in 1613, and caused a new one to be substituted, in which the limiting clauses were omitted, and the despotism of the Czar was acknowledged. The title of *autocrat*, suppressed at the accession of Michael, was restored by proclamation, and replaced on the royal seal.*

The hopes of liberty were equally disappointed in another, and not less vital, portion of the body politic. During the recent troubles, the restraints imposed by Boris Godunoff on the migration of the peasants had fallen into desuetude. The States-General, though neglecting to abolish the odious bond by a formal law, had taken no steps to revive its restrictions. The patriarch determined to act with that greater vigour which so often attends upon injustice. A new register of estates being ordered in 1625, the cultivators were for-

* These remarkable particulars are detailed by Prince Dolgoroukow, in the pamphlet called *La Vérité sur la Russie*. Paris, 1860.

bidden, under the strictest penalties, from removing from the lands on which they were found. The first sovereign of the house of Romanoff was thus burdened with the reproach of definitively chaining the labouring population to the soil, and forging the bonds which have been since so ruinously riveted.

A third innovation of this reign indicates the same consistent adherence to the instincts of despotism. The elective tribunals and juries, instituted or revised by Ivan IV., were swept away under the influence of the patriarch, and the administration of justice was transferred to the governors of provinces and districts. At the same time courts of appeal were established in Moscow, with power to try the governors themselves. Regulations were made for the careful and vigorous discharge of these important functions, which it was perhaps esteemed a beneficial reform to remove from the unintelligent tribunals of the popular choice. Philaret did not know that the exclusion of the people from the administration of the law is the certain means of extinguishing law altogether.

With an aversion to popular rights, not uncommon in ecclesiastics, the patriarch was an ardent lover of justice, mercy, and peace, and his administration was undoubtedly successful in restoring tranquillity and confidence to a long-distracted population. To the church his exertions were particularly beneficial. He applied himself diligently to the correction of the gross errors that had crept into the service-books, and to the education of the clergy. He obtained a number of immunities for the ecclesiastical possessions, with an enlargement of the jurisdiction of the patriarchal court. At the same time a law of Ivan IV., which forbade the acquisition of further estates by the monasteries, was confirmed and

enforced. But his most important work was the extension of the church into Siberia. The patriarch coveted the double glory of converting the Mongols and civilizing the Kossacks, who had ascended the rivers and subjugated a new world, with as little risk, and almost as much adventure, as Cortez and Pizarro experienced in America. Posterity must appreciate his motive, though the result was imperfectly obtained. The patriarch's contemporaries, however, were more impressed by a gift from the Great Shah Abbas of Persia, of the "seamless coat" of Christ, brought out of Georgia, where it was alleged to have been carried by the soldier to whom it fell at the foot of the cross.* This precious relic, equally venerated and equally authentic with its popish rival the holy coat of Treves, is still preserved under the brazen shrine which Philaret erected for its custody in the church of the Assumption, within the Kremlin at Moscow.

Michael transmitted the monarchy in a greatly improved condition to his son Alexis, whose long reign of thirty-one years not only established the new dynasty in the affection of the people, but was enriched by an extension of territory to compensate the losses incurred at its accession.

The Kossacks, a community composed of Russian fugitives from the provinces lost to the Poles, augmented by no inconsiderable admixture of Tartars, acknowledged hardly any other social tie than a bigoted adherence to the Greek church, and a strict obedience to their *hetman* or chief. Their political homage was yielded first to the Golden Horde and afterwards to Poland, retaining under each their own customs and government. The appropriation of the *Ukraine*, or border

* Mouravieff's Church History.

lands, to the Polish nobles brought them into collision with the Kossacks, by whom they were cultivated. Quarrels ensued, in which the Kossacks, finding little justice from the Diet, resorted to their traditional methods of redress. Bogden a celebrated hetman, incensed by unparalleled outrages, appeared at the head of 40,000 Tartars, with a much larger number of Kossacks, and after seizing the Ukraine marched upon Lithuania. The Poles, however, contrived to buy off the Tartars; and the hetman, unable to accomplish his vengeance alone, made an offer of his allegiance, along with the sovereignty of the whole Kossack territory from Lake Ilmen to the Black Sea, to Alexis.

Before closing with this tempting proposal, the Czar demanded of Poland a restitution of the provinces ceded by his predecessor, and a guarantee for the liberty of the Greek religion throughout the Polish dominions. On receiving the anticipated refusal, Russia declared war; and the progress of its arms was rapid and complete. Smolensk with all the most important towns of White Russia were recovered by the Czar, while the hetman subdued several fortresses on the Moldavian frontier. In a second campaign the Czar took Grodno, Kowno, and Wilna the capital of Lithuania. Alarmed at these successes, the King of Sweden threw himself into Pomerania, at the head of 6000 men, and thence made himself master of Cracow and Warsaw. The Polish monarch fled into Silesia, and the Diet offered the crown to Alexis, who was actually proclaimed as heir to John Kasimir, in order to induce him to prosecute hostilities against Sweden. The war continued for two years, during which the Poles were enabled to rally, and Russia was after all obliged to make peace with Sweden on the terms of the treaty of Stolba, and

to retire from Poland on condition of retaining her Lithuanian conquests and the sovereignty of the Kos-sacks.*

The proceedings of this reign were chiefly directed by the patriarch Nikon, a man who has been compared for learning and power with Cardinal Wolsey, but under favouring circumstances might have developed into a Cromwell or a Parker. Certainly no Russian prelate occupies so large a space in the history of his country and his church. Born of obscure parents in Nijni-Novgorod in the year 1613, he was educated in a convent, and afterwards lived ten years with a wife as a parochial priest. The death of their three children being deemed by him a call to re-enter the cloister, he persuaded his bereaved partner to assume the veil, taking the vows himself in the Solovetsky convent. Not satisfied, however, with the severities of that rigorous retreat, he removed to a desolate island in the White Sea, where twelve anchorites dwelt apart in their cells, meeting only once a week in their church, and continuing in prayer and fasting from Saturday evening till noon on the Sunday.

Nikon subsequently pursued a similar mode of life on an island in the mouth of the Onega, where the fame of his austerities led to his being chosen head of a neighbouring convent. In this capacity he had occasion to visit Moscow, and being presented to the Czar, the monarch was so struck with his height and noble bearing, as well as with his talents, learning, and eloquence, that he took him under his own protection, and a warm and lasting attachment ensued. Nikon was

* An armistice for thirteen years was concluded on this footing in 1667, which ripened into a formal peace in 1686. Sweden retained Ingria, Karelia, Esthonia, and Livonia.

translated to a monastery in the capital, where the Czar regularly consulted him on the petitions received from his subjects.

He was raised to the archbishopric of Novgorod in 1649, and there distinguished himself, in addition to pastoral labours and alms of no ordinary merit, by the most important public services. He protected the governor in a popular insurrection, and quelled the tumult, at the imminent risk of his own life. The sedition was followed by a conspiracy to betray the city to the Swedes, but the archbishop sent information to the Czar which defeated the plot. The prelate was armed with the powers of life and death, and succeeded at last in suppressing the rebellion with little or no effusion of blood.

In the exercise of his episcopal functions, Nikon paid great attention to the service of the church, exacting a devout performance of the several offices, which the priests used to huddle together, even reciting two or three at the same moment. He preached often, and with a fervour and eloquence that drew the people from great distances to hear him.* His sermons, instead of the usual formal recapitulations of the appointed teaching for the day, were warm and lively addresses of his own, filled with moving appeals from Holy Scripture.

These innovations incurred the serious displeasure of the patriarch, and the bulk of the illiterate clergy. They were mollified for awhile by a proposal made by the archbishop, that the relics of the three primates, Job, Hermogenes, and St. Philip, should be transported to the cathedral of the Assumption. Nikon undertook a mission to the Solovetsky convent, whither Philip's remains had been conveyed after his martyrdom at Twer, to implore the saint to come again to the capital, and absolve the Terrible Ivan on the spot where he had

in life rebuked his iniquities. The whole proceeding was conducted as if the martyr were a living and consenting party. Nikon attended the coffin to the gates of Moscow, where it was met by the Czar, and borne into the church, amid many alleged signs of healing. The patriarch being just dead, the enthusiasts pretended that St. Philip had thus reascended the primate's chair, and was ruling again the devotions of Russia.

The vacant seat, however, was destined for a more palpable and vigorous occupant. Nikon accepted the dignity (A. D. 1652) after a long resistance to the entreaties of the Czar, and only on a solemn promise, confirmed upon oath by the monarch, the council, and the populace, that he should be at liberty to prosecute the reforms he so ardently desired.

The six years of his patriarchate formed the most brilliant period of the reign. Becoming the soul of the royal councils, he laboured actively in the reunion of White and Little Russia with the church and the realm. For two years he acted as viceroy in the capital while the Czar was in the field, and his care of the royal family during a pestilence that raged in this period drew from Alexis the warmest expressions of gratitude. The Czar even insisted on renewing the unusual titles of honour which Michael had bestowed on his own father; but these distinctions occasioned the utmost dissatisfaction to the Czarina and the nobles, who were at once jealous of the patriarch's authority, and incensed by the strictness of his rule.

Nikon remained on the ecclesiastical throne what he had been in the anchorite's cell. Devoid of tenderness towards the infirmities of his own flesh, he had little compassion for others. He punished with stripes the intemperance of the clergy, a humiliation which his own

confessor deserved and received. Their wide-spread ignorance he sought to remove by enlarging and remodelling the Greek and Latin seminaries founded by Philaret, and by enforcing a stricter examination of the candidates for holy orders. The great necessity for such a reform appears from a complaint seriously urged, that the patriarch refused to admit any one priest or deacon unless he could at least read and write!

The germs of literature imported from Greece had been cultivated in Russia with some success before the Mongol usurpation, as appears from the number of correct and beautifully written manuscripts preserved in many of the convents. But in the dark ages that followed, the clergy generally became so illiterate, that a majority were ignorant of the very language of the church. A crowd of errors had consequently crept into the service, and its uniformity was broken by local and discordant usages. The evil had been complained of under Ivan the Terrible, but the council of the Hundred Chapters, being itself too illiterate to deal with the question, only increased the mischief by their decrees. Philaret had attempted the task with hardly more success. Nikon, who was a scholar of no inconsiderable repute, resolved to perfect a design which he conceived to be indispensable to the unity and purity of the national worship.

With this object in view, he procured from the various Russian convents, and from the celebrated Greek monastery on Mount Athos, a valuable collection of manuscripts, which still enriches the patriarchal library at Moscow.* Then convening a council, he proposed to

* A catalogue of these MSS., to the number of 502, was compiled by the celebrated C. J. Matthæi in 1780. It includes a singular copy of the book of Kings of the ninth century, as well as several of the New Testament; some with ancient commentaries which have never been published. A portion of the New Testament MSS. are as old as the seventh or eighth century. The collection also contains many valuable classics.

correct the church books by the authority of the oldest and most accurate of the standard copies. Their consent being obtained, the patriarch, with the assistance of other learned men, produced a new edition of the Slavonic Bible, together with an improved service-book, and a collection of doctrinal points compiled from the Greek fathers. All were cordially approved by the Czar and the synod, and further received the canonical sanction of the four œcumenical patriarchs. When the patriarch, however, proceeded to introduce them with his wonted strictness, taking away from the monasteries their corrupted copies, and ordering all pictures of uncanonized persons to be removed from the churches, a cry arose against the "new books" as heretical innovations. The people clamoured against depriving their ancestors of their accustomed honours. Parties were formed under the denomination of *old believers*, and the discontent was either secretly encouraged, or timidly yielded to, by some of the bishops. Nikon augmented the number of his enemies by punishing their remissness, and none but the Czar stood firm to his side.

At this juncture, in resentment of some trifling slight from the monarch, Nikon suddenly laid down his pastoral staff in the church, put off the pontifical vestments, and, declaring he was no longer patriarch, went out of the city on foot to a monastery, which he had founded about thirty miles distant, by the name of New Jerusalem. Here resuming his conventual life, he shut himself up in a tower, with a chapel about six feet square, a stone bed strewed with a few rushes, and a hearth at which his food was cooked by his own hands. In this cell, with a cross of brass and iron weighing twenty pounds hung round his neck, Nikon employed himself in compiling the Russian annals from the earliest

period ; and his Chronicle is generally esteemed of the greatest authority.

The Czar made several efforts to induce the patriarch to return to Moscow, but he only retired still further off to his old monastery of Solovetsky. Though adhering to his abdication, he refused to signify his permission for the due election of a successor. On receiving intelligence that steps would be taken to depose him, the patriarch secretly returned, and, appearing suddenly in the cathedral, resumed his pastoral staff and sent his blessing in the usual form to the Czar. The reply was a command to retire, upon which he carried away the staff with him ; but perceiving that his removal was resolved upon, he forwarded it to the Czar, together with his formal assent to the election of a successor.

The terms which he still wished to impose, however, were rejected, and, after a long conflict, Nikon was brought to trial before a numerous synod of Greek and Russian prelates, convened by authority of the four œcumenical patriarchs, and presided over by two of them in person.* The undaunted prelate preserved his uncompromising spirit to the last. On being summoned to the council, he ostentatiously prepared himself for death, by receiving the *viaticum* and extreme unction as if proceeding to the scaffold. When arrived in presence of the assembly, he refused to be seated on a lower level than the other patriarchs, and so listened to the charges standing. The Czar, who ap-

* The council was composed of the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, with four Russian metropolitans, six Greek metropolitans, one from Georgia, one from Servia, an archbishop from Sinai, and another from Wallachia, six Russian archbishops, five bishops, and more than fifty archimandrites, hegumens, and arch-priests. So large a synod had not assembled in the Greek church since the General Councils ; but the proceedings were little characterized by piety, moderation, or learning.

peared against him in person, he heard¹ in silence. To his other accusers he said "they might have a chance with *stones*, but that *words* would never destroy him, though they should spend nine years more in collecting them." When sentence of deposition was read, and the patriarchs approached to deprive him of the episcopal vestments, he called them mean mendicant prelates, bidding them take the rich pearls from his *khlobouk**, as something towards their maintenance. With equal fierceness he rejected a present of money and furs for his journey, sent him by the Czar, and set out on foot, poorly clad, for the monastery where he was adjudged to do penance for life.

His confinement was at first very severe, but Alexis afterwards gave orders to remove the bars and bolts from his windows and doors, and he was provided with a chapel where, notwithstanding his degradation,* he persisted in officiating as a bishop. His popularity was still so great that Radzin, the rebel Kossack, attracted vast numbers to his standard, by spreading a report that Nikon had escaped and was in his camp. These reports, perhaps, were the cause of his being transferred to a more strongly fortified monastery, and Alexis died without having again seen his face. Messages of amity, nowever, were interchanged between them; and on receiving the last tidings the deposed patriarch sent his absolution to the corpse of the monarch.

The young Czar Feodore, who was Nikon's godson, readily granted him the long-coveted permission to return and die in his favourite monastery of New Jerusalem. Worn with age and infirmity, the old man

* The *khlobouk* is a high cap with a veil or cowl falling down behind. Being worn by all monks, Nikon insisted they had no right to take it from him, taunting them at the same time with being afraid to deprive him of his episcopal mantle, though their sentence had degraded him from the order.

joyfully placed himself in the sledge that was to convey him to the river. Dropping down the Volga in a barge, he reached a convent above Yaroslaf, and feeling that his last hour was at hand, approached the shore to receive the communion of the sick. There he met and was reconciled to an ecclesiastic who had assisted in the ceremonial of his degradation. Then again moving down the stream, his vessel reached the city and was moored against the convent wall, while the bells were being struck for the vespers. Suddenly Nikon looked round as if he were called, then adjusting his hair and beard as for company, he crossed his arms as he lay extended in the barge, and sighing deeply expired. His body was conveyed on to his favourite monastery, where the Czar in person helped to lay it in the ground. The monarch afterwards obtained letters of absolution from the œcumenical patriarchs, by which the deceased was re-admitted into their pontifical assembly.

Nikon's ecclesiastical reforms were approved by the bishops and patriarchs, and again expressly confirmed by the synod which deposed himself; it is certain therefore that he was not condemned for heresy. His fall, like Wolsey's, was due to the malice of personal and political rivals, provoked by a haughty temper and the rigorous exercise of exorbitant power. The patriarch appears to have been less open than the cardinal to the charge of ambition. He accepted his dignity with reluctance, remonstrated against the unusual titles bestowed by the Czar, and was only too ready to exchange them again for the retirement of the cloister. His pride was that of office and order more than of self, while his learning was extraordinary, his morals beyond reproach, his pastoral labours earnest and incessant.

The reign of Alexis was distinguished by the arrival

in Moscow of a Georgian prince, seeking protection from the inroads of the Turks and Persians, and by the appearance of a Russian embassy at the court of the Chinese emperor, who then first became acquainted with the existence of his neighbours in Siberia.

The Czar exhibited an enlightened interest in the government of his kingdom. He assembled the States-General at his accession to examine and promulgate a revised code of laws; and again in 1653, to consult on the proposals of the Kossacks, and the re-incorporation of Little Russia with the empire. He turned his attention also to the art of ship-building, with a view to develop the commerce of the Caspian; and he was the first to abolish the inhuman practice of condemning prisoners of war to slavery under their captors, and to command their employment on the uncultivated crown lands.

Alexis, however, was unable to cope with the evils inseparable from Russian despotism. The nobles, comparing their position with the liberties of their order in Poland and Lithuania, were filled with discontent. The people were not less indignant at their subjection to the nobles. An insurrection took place in 1670, headed by a Don Kossack named Stenka Radzin, which required all the force of the crown to subdue. The rebellion being provoked by the tyranny of the governor, the blood of the nobles flowed like water during its progress. The authority of the Czar was freely and fully respected, but the insurgents demanded the abolition of the nobility, and *the emancipation of the serfs*.

This insurrection, coupled with the general discontent, occasioned the adoption of measures which were far from according with the mild disposition of the Czar. A political inquisition was established at Preobrajenskoi,

near Moscow, with power to arrest and condemn to torture or exile all who might be suspected or denounced by the government. The latter years of the reign were again overshadowed with gloom, and, as in all despotisms, a change of rulers was hailed as a relief.

Alexis died at the age of forty-seven, A. D. 1676. He was twice married : by his first wife, a lady of the Milofaskoi family, he had two sons, Feodore and Ivan, with six daughters, one of whom was named Sophia. A second union with a member of the inferior house of Narishkin brought him two children, Peter and Natalia.

Feodore II., succeeding on his father's death, devoted himself for six years with great assiduity to the details of government, and effected a number of minute but valuable reforms in the administration of justice. He repressed the open bribery that prevailed among the judges, improved the police, and made advances of money for industrial employments to relieve the working classes. The price of provisions, also, was regulated by an equitable standard. On the upper classes Feodore bestowed a yet more valuable boon, by abolishing the *mestritchstvo*, a singular institution, which claimed to dispose of all the offices of state by a kind of civil pedigree. Every noble family kept a genealogical roll, in which were entered not only the titles, but the offices and court honours, enjoyed by their ancestors : it was a point of honour not to serve in any public station under one whose ancestors had filled a lower grade. To settle these pretensions, the several pedigrees were duly registered and corrected from time to time, in a public office established for the purpose. The Czar having called in these books, as if to undergo a new correction, assembled the States-General, and having laid before them the manifold inconveniences experienced

from this prejudice, the registers on which the pretensions were grounded were committed to the flames by general consent. The proper genealogies of the nobility remained, to show their titles and descent, and were henceforth to supply, as in other kingdoms, the rules of precedence.

The death of Feodore (A.D. 1682) was followed by a struggle for the succession, more in keeping with an Asiatic than a European court. The Czarina Natalia, alleging that Peter had been nominated by Feodore on account of the notorious imbecility of Ivan, procured her son to be proclaimed by the patriarch, and assumed the government in his name. This proceeding was warmly resisted by the Princess Sophia and her maternal relatives, the Milofaskois, aided by Galitzin, the favourite minister of the deceased Czar. Rumours were circulated that Feodore had been poisoned by the Narishkins, and that similar treachery was meditated against the rightful successor, Ivan. A report was even spread that both the princes were dead, and that Ivan Narishkin, the Czarina's brother, had seized the throne. Roused by this intelligence, a portion of the *streliz*, or guards, stormed the palace and put the unhappy man to death. Natalia herself escaped with difficulty alone and on foot, carrying her son in her arms. In this condition she fled to the Trinity Lavra, pursued by the ferocious *streliz* to the very gates of the sanctuary. Even after she had gained the church and placed her child on the altar, one of the ruffians seized the prince, and his sword was descending on his head, when the sound of a new arrival caused him to fly, and Peter was providentially preserved for the important part he was to play in the destinies of his country. The struggle was brought to a close by a compromise, in virtue of which

Ivan and Peter were crowned as joint sovereigns, while the government was entrusted to Sophia, who continued the administration in the hands of Galitzin, the most able minister of the day.

The two Czars had each his respective court, but the Narishkins complained that Peter was kept in studied obscurity by the regent, with the view of excluding him from the throne, which, in default of issue from Ivan, she intended should devolve upon herself. It is certain that Peter's early years were spent in low and degrading society; but his mother, in whose charge he was placed, was the person responsible for his education. He was surrounded by dissolute young men, whose pleasure and pride lay in drinking. To this degrading vice the Russians of all classes were so shamefully addicted, that Galitzin is said to have been the only noble who could abstain from brandy at the dinner table. The early intemperance of Peter, coupled with an hereditary tendency to epilepsy, doubtless sowed the seeds of that derangement of constitution which, in after life, resulted in fits closely bordering on insanity. Yet persons have not been wanting to impute his infirmity to *poison* administered by Sophia, the life-long object of Peter's suspicions and enmity.

At seventeen years of age Peter married Eudocia, the daughter of a colonel Lapuchin, and shortly after insisted on being admitted to the Council of State, where he took his seat the 25th January 1688. Here he immediately commenced a struggle with the regent which could only issue in the destruction of one of them. Which was the aggressor is hard to be determined; but in September 1689, Peter arrived in disorder at the Trinity Lavra, the asylum of his infancy, and of so many czars in extremity, giving out that he was flying

from a band of streliz sent by Sophia to assassinate him. The regent, on the other hand, expressed her horror at the attempt, and earnestly disavowed all complicity with the conspirators. The alleged plot was discovered by one of Peter's own companions, and its sole confirmation was derived from confessions extorted from the accused, by tortures administered in his own presence. Hence it may be reasonably suspected that Peter was himself the chief conspirator, and that his sister was more "sinned against than sinning."

In Russia, however, history itself obeys the imperial mandate. True or false, the story brought 60,000 men to the side of Peter, and the regency was overthrown. Sophia was confined in a convent, Galitzin was exiled to Siberia, and Peter assumed the reins of power; allowing the name of Ivan to be inserted with his own in the public acts, as a matter of form, till his death in 1696.

The issue of this memorable struggle was mainly decided by the foreign officers, who had been taken into the service with a view of imparting European discipline to the Russian soldiery. At the head of these adventurers was Patrick Gordon, a native of Scotland, who, having thrown himself on the world in quest of military employment, after a fashion not uncommon with cadets of poor Scottish houses at the time, first served under Charles Gustavus in the invasion of Poland, and then accepted a commission from John Sobieski, on the opposite side. Thence he transferred his sword to the Emperor of Germany, and finally deserted his new employer to kiss the hand of the Czar Alexis and play a prominent part in the consolidation of the Russian empire. Gordon was posted in command of a body of troops at Moscow, but, declaring

for Peter, he marched at once for the Lavra, and his example being followed by the other foreigners, principally his own countrymen, a force appeared the next morning at the gates of the monastery which sufficed to turn the scale. Peter attached himself to the Scottish officer on the spot, and found in him exactly the instrument most needed in his future career.

The existing Russian empire may be called the creation of Peter the Great. The government, the church, the nobility, the army, the manners of society, even the dress of the people, were all radically revolutionized by the will of this extraordinary monarch. Of the traditions of Rurik he inherited nothing but the memory of an empire from sea to sea. The Muscovite monarchy lent him the autocracy of the Czar and the submission of the masses. Every other institution of modern Russia is the work of Peter's astonishing genius. All was evolved out of his own conceptions and by the energy of his personal character. Owing little to the instructors of his youth, and less to the companions or instruments of his riper counsels, he was indeed, what Russian sovereigns delight to style themselves, the "self-upholder of all the Russias." His life, which has been frequently written, is perhaps the most surprising biography in the world, equal to Napoleon Bonaparte's in adventure, and surpassing Alexander's in splendour of success.

Like them, however, and many others whom the world calls *Great*, Peter's private character was stained by the most revolting vices. Intemperance, licentiousness, perfidy, and a savage cruelty inconceivable in any part of Europe out of Russia, were the companions of his lofty aspirations, and the instruments of his much-lauded reforms. He was able to change the whole state and

condition of the Russian dominions, but no indication remains of his bestowing a single thought on the kingdom that is not of this world. His own confession was, "I can reform my people, but I cannot reform myself." Self-willed, unscrupulous, and successful, he could not fail of securing the admiration of worldly-minded men. The infidel Voltaire rejoiced to write his biography, the materials being supplied by the Empress Catherine II., the most abandoned woman that ever disgraced a throne. Panegyrists of this description have an easy task; but as Peter never hesitated to blacken the character of all who stood in his way, and could always cause his assertions to pass for authentic evidence, it is difficult for an impartial historian to accord the due measure of merit or blame.

The first act of the youthful Czar was to secure his power by organizing a standing army. The Russian forces formerly consisted of temporary levies, brought together by the princes and boyards at the summons of the sovereign, and remitted to their previous occupations when the occasion was over. Ivan the Terrible laid the foundation of an imperial guard in the "peculiars" by whom he surrounded himself. These had gradually increased into the tumultuous bands denominated *streliz*, who occupied the capital and not unfrequently dictated to the throne. These Russian janissaries were hateful to Peter, both from their notorious attachment to the cause of Sophia, and from the improved estimate he had already formed of the value of military discipline. The chief amusement of his youth had been to drill his companions in ranks and squadrons after the German method, which he acquired from an adventurer named Lefort. Under this man's tuition they erected fortifications, and mimicked the

tactics of war as practised in the regular armies of Europe.

Peter no sooner found himself in a condition to command, than he commissioned Lefort and Gordon to raise an army on the European model. Numbers of the Huguenots, then escaping from persecution in France, with many kindred spirits from Scotland, gathered under the standards of the two generals, and Peter saw himself with delight at the head of an army of 20,000 regular troops.

His next endeavour was to sustain this military development by a naval equipment of corresponding magnitude. Though long inured to commerce, the Russians possessed no vessels of war, and were entirely ignorant of the art of navigation. Their trade was conducted by means of rafts floated down the rivers, or propelled by oars and rude sails, only fitted to go before the wind. The use of yards and braces was so unknown, that an English yacht, the wreck of which was accidentally discovered by Peter, was described to his astonishment as a vessel "constructed to sail against the wind." The Czar had the hulk refitted by a Dutch shipwright who was found in Moscow, and the latter having launched it on the river, instructed the monarch in the mysteries of steering, tacking, and wearing.

Enraptured by the discovery, Peter commissioned his shipwright to build a number of small vessels carrying guns. This little fleet he manœuvred on the lake of Perislaf with intense gratification, till his ambition growing with the exercise, he repaired to Archangel, whence he made several expeditions upon the White Sea in the years 1693 and 1694, greatly improving his knowledge and practice of navigation. From this time his exertions were so incessant, that in five years after

he had placed a fleet on the Black Sea of nine ships carrying 60 guns, ten of 50, ten of 48, two of 42, fourteen of 34, two of 32, three of 30, one of 26, one of 24, four of 18, three of 14, and four of 8 guns; besides 18 triremes, 100 brigantines, and 300 boats in the Dnieper.

The Czar was not slow to employ his new armaments in the extension of his empire. The possession of a navy necessitated a maritime coast, and as Archangel was too distant for the influence he coveted in Europe, Peter fixed his thoughts on the Euxine, the entire border of which was then in the occupation of the Ottoman Porte. The Turks being engaged in a conflict with the Poles and Venetians, Peter, watching his opportunity, declared war and appeared before Azof in 1695. His infant navy, however, was as yet too feeble to co-operate, and the siege was unsuccessful; but returning the following year, Peter astonished the enemy by the sight of twelve vessels of war, which had come down the Volga, armed with superior artillery.

The Czar was still more effectually supported by the talent and resolution of his favourite general Gordon. The Turks holding out with their usual determination, the ingenious Scot hit upon the novel expedient of *burying* the fortress in the loose soil of the Crimea. Twelve thousand Russians were set to work day and night, heaping up earth against the walls. In five weeks they had filled up the fosse, and the mound rose above the ramparts, rolling into the interior and threatening to entomb the defenders alive. The governor, astounded at this unaccustomed assault, hoisted the white flag and surrendered on the 28th July 1696. Peter lost not a moment in making use of his acquisition to construct a dockyard, where the Russian fleet was assiduously augmented with a view to further conquests.

While thus establishing himself on the Black Sea, the Czar was not insensible to the advantages of the Baltic as the means of communication with western Europe. He burned to restore to Russia the provinces which had been so long alienated to Sweden; but the Northmen being a different kind of warriors from the Turks, it was necessary, before engaging in hostilities in that direction, to make himself better acquainted with the European methods of attack and defence. With this object in view, Peter resolved to visit some of the chief maritime places in the adjoining countries, a determination which was not the least startling, to his subjects, of the many innovations he had effected.

The Muscovites were deeply discontented with the exile of the native soldiery, and the substitution of an army of foreign mercenaries. The navy, too, was a foreign invention, towards the cost of which heavy contributions had been levied from the clergy, nobility, and trading classes. Several young Russians had been sent to Holland, Italy, and Germany, to acquire foreign, and therefore dangerous, arts. The nobles felt their dignity menaced by the progress of education among the inferior orders; the clergy began to be alarmed for the immutability of their beloved ceremonials. The discontent was inflamed to a dangerous degree when the announcement was spread that the Czar was about to quit the holy mother-land, and deprive his capital of the royal presence, so indispensable to the safety both of church and state. The party of the Princess Sophia was still far from extinct, and in the midst of the general murmurs, a conspiracy was organized by some of the streliz to assassinate Peter, and raise his sister to the throne.

The plot was betrayed by two of the conspirators to Peter himself*, who, after sending for a regiment of guards, had the temerity to go alone to the rendezvous of the assassins, and even to enter the house and join in their revelry, as though casually attracted by the sounds of mirth. The traitors were thunder-struck by his unexpected appearance, but resuming confidence, one of them presently whispered to another "It is time." The Czar overheard the remark, but at the same moment the tramp of the approaching soldiers met his expectant ear. Springing to his feet, Peter struck the assassin on the face, exclaiming, "No, villain, not time for thee, but for me." The guards rushed in as he spoke, and the baffled conspirators flung themselves on their knees imploring mercy. To mercy, however, the royal savage was a stranger. He condemned the culprits to die amidst lingering and inhuman tortures, and when life was at last extinguished, exposed the mangled limbs in a pile, arranged with so horrible an art as to revolt even the Muscovite populace, long inured to barbarous spectacles. In these bloody executions Peter seemed to recall the memory of Ivan the Terrible. Like him, his object was to strike terror into the souls of a servile and deceitful nation; but such a policy is unpardonable in a prince who affected to desire the civilization and moral improvement of his subjects.

Having given this frightful proof of his power to

* It is curious that the same incident occurs in Peter's account of the previous attempt upon his life, under the regency of Sophia. Either we must receive it as the established rule in Russian conspiracies, that exactly *two* of the number should give warning to the intended victim, or the accounts which repeat so dramatic an incident must be viewed with suspicion. It will be observed that the romantic adventure, described in the text, rests entirely on Peter's own allegation, and it is quite clear that he had already determined on the extirpation of the *strelitz*.

punish, the Czar proceeded to put his design into execution. Leaving his capital in the custody of Gordon, with 12,000 disciplined soldiers, chiefly Frenchmen, he travelled through Esthonia and Livonia, taking care to acquaint himself with the resources and means of defence possessed by the Swedes in those provinces. Thence he passed into Prussia and Germany, and eventually reaching Amsterdam, took up his abode with Lefort, Menzikoff, and others of his companions, in an obscure lodging near the dockyard. Here, hiring himself to a shipwright under the assumed name of Peter Timmerman, he laboured from morning to night as a common workman, regularly receiving his wages with the rest. It is even said, that while his retinue lived comfortably, though obscurely, in a convenient residence, Peter insisted on occupying a labourer's hovel, and sustained himself on the fruits of his earnings. It was from this hovel that the instructions went forth to his commander at Azof, which resulted in the capture of Perecop from the Turks (August 1697).

After acquiring a competent knowledge of shipbuilding, Peter left Holland for England, and experienced a hearty welcome from William III., who presented him with a yacht, the most acceptable gift the royal guest could receive. Soon quitting the court, however, Peter hired a lodging at Deptford, and pursued his labours in the dockyard with equal vigour, though not under so strict an incognito, as in Holland. He also studied fortification, geography, and chemistry, besides acquainting himself with the principal trades and manufactures of Great Britain. From England he pursued his travels into Austria, and had reached Vienna on the way to Venice, when another insurrection of the streliz recalled him to Moscow.

The disturbance had arisen from a report of the Czar's death, followed by an attempt of the streliz to proclaim his son in his stead. The promptitude of the viceroy and the prowess of his foreign soldiers had repressed the movement, and Peter found the offenders in chains. Still, his inhuman wrath could not refrain from again rioting in blood. Ivan himself was this time exceeded in the sanguinary ingenuity of his punishments. For five fearful months the rack, the axe, and the wheel were in constant activity. The Czar delighted to be present at the tortures, reviling and striking the mangled wretches with incredible ferocity. He even assumed the executioner's office: holding a goblet of wine in one hand, and an axe in the other, he smote off twenty heads, and quaffed as many draughts in a single hour! His nobles were compelled to bear their part in this hideous revel: even the Prussian ambassador was insulted by an invitation to try his skill on the bloody scaffold. This fact, though communicated by the King of Prussia, is characteristically omitted in the laudatory biography of Voltaire.

The disgust inspired by such ferocity stimulating fresh insurrections, they were visited with fresh barbarities. Eighty heads were held up to the populace, one after another, as they rolled from under the axe of this anointed monarch. Nor could Peter's vengeance content itself with the slaughter of the detested streliz. His own nearest relations were involved in the bloody toils. He divorced his wife Eudocia, and condemned her to a convent for life, on suspicion of being concerned in the revolt. In reality, his unbridled passions had long estranged him from her society, and his wrath was inflamed by her remonstrances at his infidelity. Alexis their only son, whom the mutineers had in-

tended to proclaim, fell under a displeasure which finally brought him to his death; and Sophia, whom her brother insisted on linking with every conspiracy against himself, was compelled to take the veil, and further outraged by the execution of three of the streliz close to the window of her cell, a petition addressed to herself being left hanging in the hand of one of the corpses.

Determined to use his opportunity to the utmost, Peter's next step was to disarm and disband the whole body of the native soldiery, entrusting the defence of the kingdom to the well-disciplined forces which he had collected from other nations. Secure in their fidelity, he could now prosecute his war upon Russian prejudices with unrelenting ardour. Ukases came out against the national costume: all classes were ordered to exchange the long dresses, inherited from the east, for the garb of the foreigners whom they regarded with horror. The beard, which formed the pride and glory of every native Russian, was sentenced to pass under the razor. The resistance was universal: some who were compelled to be shaved preserved the hair to be placed in their coffins, lest Nicolas, their patron saint, should reject them in the other world for want of their beards. The Czar was obliged at last to permit the retaining of the old habit on payment of a tax. From this impost the clergy were exempted, and Peter extended the immunity to the peasantry, in order to brand the ancient garb with the stigma of vulgarity.

The next step in the assimilation to European customs, which was the darling passion of Peter, was to abolish the native titles of *boyards*, *okolnitchy*, and *doumny dvoriane*, and substitute those of *presidents*, *councillors*, and *senators*. This reform was accompanied by a new

table of precedence, which, retaining the obligation on the nobility to enter the public service, opened the choice of the sovereign to other classes also; but neither the new nor the old nobility were exempted from the knout, the cane, and the torture, to which all classes of Russians were liable at the will of the despot. The council of the boyards was abolished, and replaced by a council of state appointed by the monarch, which was assisted by ten imperial colleges, or boards, for the transaction of public business.

The next reform was in the state of religion. Repealing the interdicts which the Established Church had procured to be imposed against other forms of Christianity, the Czar permitted all, except Jesuits (to whom he had contracted a just dislike in his travels) to settle in Russia and intermarry with the natives. He suppressed the patriarchal court, where suits against spiritual persons had been exclusively heard, and transferred the causes to the ordinary civil jurisdiction, reserving only questions of church discipline and doctrine to the ecclesiastical cognizance. The number of monks and nuns to be admitted into convents was limited by edict; lay and secular persons were expelled, and an age was appointed for taking the vows, which was not to be under forty years for a nun, and thirty for a monk.

In order to limit further the power of the church, and reduce it to a greater dependence on the crown, its large estates were put in charge of a commission, fixed stipends being allotted to the bishops and other ecclesiastics.

These reforms were warmly resisted by the clergy, who saw in them.—what has since taken place—the reduction of their order to indigence and general contempt.

Some of them went so far as to denounce the emperor as Antichrist; and when, without heeding their murmurs, Peter proceeded to alter the commencement of the year, it was complained that he dared "to change times and laws," as well as to "wear out the saints of the Most High."* The Russians, like the Jews, commenced their year in the *autumn*, the season of fruits. This Peter altered to the 1st January; but either from not understanding the Gregorian calendar, or from a fear of innovating too far, he allowed the "old style" to remain, and Russia is now the only European country which retains it.

The influence of the clergy was so great on the side of the anti-reformers, that Peter, who knew no policy but force, resolved on effectually subjugating a body which he was unable to conciliate. On the death of the patriarch, he postponed the nomination of a successor on the plea of being engaged with state affairs, and committed the vacant see to the guardianship of the metropolitan of Riazan. This arrangement continued for twenty years, when having finished his wars, and been victorious over all his enemies, Peter professed himself bound in conscience no longer to neglect the regulation of the church. Instead of nominating a patriarch, however, he determined to place the authority in commission, by appointing a select Synod to the administration of the chief ecclesiastical government. The new institution was readily confirmed by the abject patriarch of Constantinople, who decreed to it the curious appellation of "our Brother in Christ the Holy and Sacred Synod." This name was introduced into the liturgy in place of the patriarch's, and a dignity once thought essential to the *status* and honour of the Russian church ceased to exist.

* Dan. vii. 25.

Struggling feebly against the torrent, some of the clergy presented a petition to the Synod praying for the appointment of another patriarch; but Peter, who presided in person, soon taught them how their applications would in future be considered. Throwing his drawn sword on the table, he struck his breast and exclaimed, "Here is your patriarch!" Whether in temporal or in spiritual affairs his government had but one rule.

Making war on his subjects with no less zeal than on his enemies, Peter next pushed his reforms into family and social life. One edict prohibited the Asiatic practice of keeping the women in seclusion; another forbade the contracting of matrimony by proxy; it was even decreed that no marriage should be celebrated till the parties had been personally acquainted for six weeks. To complete the emancipation of the sex, Peter instituted a code of regulations, enjoining the holding of evening assemblies among the upper classes. The nobles and merchants were ordered to open their houses in rotation; the imperial reformer condescended even to give lessons in the requisite etiquette, and to prescribe the manner of bowing. The Russians yielded, as they always yield, obedience to the imperial mandate; but long-established usages were not to be extirpated in a moment. To introduce arts and civilization by force of arms, is a feat beyond the power even of a Russian autocrat. Peter failed to diffuse the advantages he intended, while he recklessly sowed the seeds of disunion for after times.

Meanwhile a youth of eighteen had ascended the throne of Sweden, whose inexperience seemed unable to preserve the acquisitions made by that power from the neighbouring states. Peter, hastening to conclude

peace with the Turks, entered into a league with the Kings of Denmark and Poland, with the object of recovering the territories lost by their respective predecessors. But Charles XII. was far from proving the easy prey that he anticipated. Appearing suddenly before Copenhagen, he compelled the Danish king to sign a peace confirming Sweden in the possession of Holstein, and then rapidly turning his arms upon Poland, the confederation was dissolved almost as soon as it was formed. Augustus of Saxony, the newly elected King of Poland, retreated in dismay; and Peter, who had advanced into Ingria at the head of 60,000 men, found himself confronted by the Swedish army, which, though only 8000 strong, was composed of experienced troops, flushed with success. The campaign resulted in the entire defeat of the Russians. Their commander, a Flemish officer, was as much alarmed at the mutinous temper of his own troops, as at the superiority of those opposed to him: he surrendered to Charles, who contemptuously allowed the army to go home, after suffering a loss of five or six thousand men.

Nothing daunted by this failure, Peter returned to the attack while the Swedish king was engaged in the subjugation of Poland. Laying siege to the town of Rottenburg on an island in the Neva, just where that river issues from Lake Ladoga, he carried it by assault on the 1st January 1702. Soon after he seized another island towards the mouth of the river, bearing the singularly inappropriate designation of Pleasure Island. These spots, together with the adjacent shores, were little better than morass, frequently overflowed by water, and entirely destitute of stone. Yet on his last acquisition Peter immediately commenced a fortress, which was finished in five months, while before the year was

out 30,000 houses and huts clustered round the citadel, and took the name of *St. Petersburg*. The workmen and inhabitants were collected from a variety of countries. Tartars, Kalmucks, Kossacks, Ingrians, and Finlanders obeyed the mandate of an iron despotism, which scrupled not to sacrifice 100,000 men, in the first year, to the severity of the labour and the inclemency of the climate. Another fortress, erected during the same period on an island still further out towards the sea, received the name of *Cronstadt*. To these dismal swamps the Czar compelled a number of the inhabitants of Moscow to remove, with the ambition of creating an Amsterdam in his own dominions.

From Petersburg he was enabled to act with effect over the whole of Ingria; at the same time his extraordinary energy employed itself in fortifying the principal towns of Russia, and in sustaining the cause of Poland against the Swedes by contributions both of men and money. Charles, who considered Peter as a barbarian, treated all his efforts with contempt, confident that he could at any moment recover possession of the lost territory, and destroy the labours of the Russians. Having, however, at last fulfilled his determination to drive Augustus out of Poland, and procured the election of Stanislaus to the vacant throne, the Swedish monarch began to retrace his steps towards his own dominions. Peter had meanwhile besieged and taken Dorpt and Narva, and was master of all Ingria. Thence he had penetrated into Courland, taken the capital, and was assisting Augustus to dispute possession of Lithuania. Charles, advancing to Grodno, inflicted a severe defeat on the combined forces of Russia and Saxony: the Czar was at the same time summoned to quell a revolt in Astrakhan. Still he was able to despatch an

army into Poland, which, in concert with the Saxons, defeated the Swedes and entered Warsaw in triumph. But Augustus was at this time secretly negotiating with Charles, to whom he resigned his claim on the Polish crown; surrendering, therefore, his alliance with Peter, he delivered up the Russian ambassador to the King of Sweden, and the unfortunate man, being a native of Livonia, which Charles considered as his own dominion, was immediately executed as a traitor, an act which Peter denounced to all Europe as an atrocious violation of international law.

The two monarchs were now committed to a deadly strife. Charles determined to invade Russia, and treat with his adversary at Moscow. He defeated Peter's head-quarters at Grodno, forcing him to withdraw to the Dnieper. Here, as the only means of checking the enemy's advance, the Czar made his Kossacks lay waste all the country for thirty miles round. This policy, which has become the established order of Russian tactics, was pursued throughout the campaign, and it proved fatal to the invader's hopes. Charles was obliged to abandon the road to Moscow and fall back into the Ukraine, where the hetman Mazeppa was intriguing to assert independence. The latter, however, proved unable to corrupt the fidelity of the Kossacks, and Charles, with his army reduced to 25,000 men, moved across the ravaged Ukraine towards the sandy deserts of the steppes. After wandering for three months, he reached Pultowa, where he was once more encountered by Peter, to whom the Swedish hero was obliged to confess he had at last taught the art of war.

In the battle which ensued, both sovereigns were seen in the hottest part of the conflict. Charles having received a wound in the foot, was carried in a litter, which being

shattered under him by a cannon-shot, he had himself raised on the pikes of his soldiers till another conveyance could be provided. The clothes, hat, and saddle of Peter were pierced by musket-balls. After a fearful combat the Swedes giving way, were defeated with a loss of 9000 men, besides prisoners. Their king fled into Turkey, and an auxiliary force, which was pursued by Menzikoff, surrendered themselves prisoners of war to the number of 14,000. The whole of these unfortunate men, in flagrant violation of the international laws which Peter had lately invoked against his adversary, were sent to colonize the inhospitable wilds of Siberia. A peace was then concluded with the senate of Sweden, by which the sovereignty of Livonia, Ingria, and a part of Finland, was secured to Russia.

Charles, though defeated, and well nigh deranged by his losses, was still able to inspire the Sultan and the Khan of Crimea with a well-founded alarm at the progress of the Czar, and war was declared by these powers against Russia. Peter tasked all his energies and resources to meet the new enemy, and having collected 130,000 men in different quarters, set out for the Pruth. Here, owing to a failure in the arrangements, only 40,000 troops were assembled. The reliance placed on Walachian co-operation proved unfounded, and on the 27th June 1711, the Turks crossed the river with an army of 200,000 men. The Russians were completely surrounded, but Peter drawing up his forces in a square, resisted for three days the incessant attacks of his numerous but unskilful adversary. Retiring to his tent on the third night, he gave orders not to be disturbed, intending, it is thought, to force a passage for himself during the darkness, and leave his troops to their fate. A negotiation, however, was opened with the enemy

during the night, which resulted in a suspension of arms, followed by a peace, the terms of which obliged the Russians to surrender Azof and Taganroq, to withdraw from the Black Sea, and renounce further interference with Poland and the Kossacks.

Peter bitterly felt his humiliation; at the same time he was conscious that he owed his liberty and his life to the treaty, and never ceased to acknowledge the service done to him by its author. The credit of his escape is assigned to Catherine, the consort whom he had taken to himself in place of his wife Eudocia, and a person fully as remarkable as Peter himself. She was a Livonian of low birth, who, on the morning after her marriage with a sergeant in the Swedish army, found herself a prisoner of war to the Russians, on the capture of the town of Marienburgh. Her husband having disappeared in the engagement, she became the companion first of General Bauer, next of Count Schevemeten, and then of Prince Menschikoff, by whom she was transferred to the Czar in 1704, being still only seventeen years of age. By entering warmly into Peter's reforms, and soothing the excesses of his savage temper, Catherine acquired so much influence over him, that, after bearing him several children, he proclaimed her his wife with the title of Czarina.* She accompanied him in his

* The marriage of Peter and Catherine, and the consequent legitimacy of their issue, are subject to considerable doubt. Voltaire, wishing to maintain the legitimacy, pretends that a private marriage took place in 1707, which was formally avowed in 1711. Gordon says they were married in 1710; but this is contradicted by the Memoirs of General Bruce, where it is stated that he was present at the private marriage at Jawerof in Poland, on the 29th May 1711. Mr. Coxe adds that a public solemnization followed at St. Petersburg on the 20th February 1712. Consequently, the Princess Anne, who was born in 1707, and Elizabeth in 1709, were certainly illegitimate. The Prince Dolgoroukow denies the marriage altogether, affirming that Catherine was only *declared* the wife of the Czar, not really married to him. Indeed, according to the belief of the Greek church, no valid marriage *could* be solemnized, since Eudocia, though arbitrarily divorced, was still living.

travels and expeditions, and it was she who, according to one account, penetrating to his tent in spite of the orders for privacy, laid his danger before him and procured his authority to treat with the enemy. Others say she entered on the negotiation unknown to the Czar, while the latter again, in his private journal, makes no mention of her taking any part in the negotiations at all. There can be no doubt, however, from the terms of a subsequent proclamation, that Catherine did in some way signally assist in accomplishing this fortunate escape.

Unsuccessful in the south, Peter returned to prosecute with renewed ardour his designs of aggrandizement in the north. An alliance between him, the King of Denmark, and the Electors of Brandenburg and Hanover, wrested Pomerania from the Swedes, to be divided among themselves. A descent upon Helsingfors next put the Czar in possession of a large portion of Finland, including Abo, the capital. These conquests were secured by a naval victory near Åland, which was celebrated by a triumphal ovation at Petersburg, now declared the capital of the Russian empire.

By these acquisitions Russia was put in possession of both shores of the Gulf of Finland, and the inhabitants of Stockholm were in daily fear of seeing her fleets before their harbours. Peter, however, was too well aware of the jealousies of the neighbouring powers to push his arms to the actual conquest of Sweden. Intermitting his wars for a period, he set out on another European tour, accompanied by his new czarina. In this journey he visited the capitals of Denmark, Holland, France, and Prussia, being everywhere received with the highest distinctions. The people of Amsterdam welcomed him with delight, as a pupil of their own forming in arts and commerce. The Czar had the tact

to leave his low-born consort in Holland, while he went to Paris, where her history and character might provoke displeasing criticisms. She accompanied him, however, to Berlin, and there, with her husband and Frederick of Prussia, constituted a group of which Voltaire remarks, that could Charles XII. have been added, four crowned heads would have been seen together, surrounded by less luxury than a German bishop or a Roman cardinal. The possession of arbitrary power exerts, it would appear, a strange fascination over sceptical and democratic philosophers. The panegyrist overlooked the coarseness of sentiment which accompanied the rude simplicity, as well as the ferocity and licentiousness which disfigured the magnanimity, of his heroes. A higher commendation, really due to Catherine, is that she often moderated the violence of her savage consort by the compassion natural to her sex, so saving many a life that would otherwise have been sacrificed to his indiscriminate and bloodthirsty passions.

The Czar returned to his own dominions to enact a scene which filled Europe with horror, and can only be paralleled in the annals of the worst oriental tyrants. The sole fruit of his inauspicious marriage with Eudocia Lapuchin was the Czarovitch Alexis, who early inherited the unjust aversion conceived towards his injured mother. Peter was repaid by a dislike and terror on the part of his son, which seemed at times to transport him to the borders of insanity.* His early years being spent in the society of priests and others of the old Russian party, all like his mother violently scandalized by the innovations of the Czar, he grew

* It seems probable that both father and son were really subject to fits of mental derangement.

up with a deep-rooted aversion to the person and the policy of his father. Seldom appearing at court, he declared amid his own boisterous and intemperate revels, that all should be restored to the ancient model the moment he came to the throne. These sentiments rendered him the idol of the populace and of the streliz, while he was proportionately disliked by the new aristocracy and the partisans of reform.

There is no doubt that on the birth of a son by Catherine, Peter had determined on depriving Alexis of the succession. He had just before published a law, abolishing the right of primogeniture in the disposal of private estates; and in a conversation held with the Austrian envoy in November 1715, he argued for the same liberty with respect to the crown, in a manner to satisfy the minister that he had already decreed the exclusion of his eldest son.* Alexis was prevailed upon, in some fit of drunkenness or despair, to tender the renunciation of his birthright, and solicit permission to retire into a convent. Repenting, however, of this sacrifice, the Czarovitch made his escape to Vienna, and from thence to the castle of St. Elmo at Naples. In this place of security he received a letter from his father, containing the following words: "I promise before God that I will not punish you, but that if you return I will love you better than ever. But if you do not, I give you, in virtue of the power I have received from God as your father, my eternal curse." Similar assurances were addressed to the Emperor and the King of Naples, and on their united persuasion the Czarovitch quitted his asylum and returned to Moscow. The morning after his arrival he was thrown into prison, where he was compelled to sign anew his own dis-

* The envoy's despatch is printed in Coxe's *Travels*, ii. 436.

herison, after which, in flagrant contempt of his promises and oaths, Peter sent the unhappy prince a prisoner to Petersburg, and arraigned him on a capital charge before a special commission of inquiry.

The tyrant had the incredible hardness of heart to appear in person as the accuser of his son, affirming that his promise of pardon, "signed, sworn to, and confirmed by a solemn appeal to Heaven," was cancelled by the prince's holding in reserve some important circumstances of his revolutionary designs.* The evidence consisted of expressions of anger against the Czar, partly betrayed by the prisoner's mistress whom Peter had suborned, and partly wrung from a priest, who was put to the torture to make him violate the seal of confession.† To these were added sundry admissions, extorted from the accused while in prison, but which amounted to little more than that, groaning under his father's tyranny, he would gladly have availed himself of the emperor, or any other auxiliary, to escape it. No overt act or conspiracy was even alleged; yet, under the weight of despotic influence, the tribunal pronounced a reluctant sentence of *death*, accompanied, as far as it dared, by a recommendation to mercy. The clergy spoke first, declaring the charge to be altogether beyond the ecclesiastical cognizance, but that the sovereign was absolute, and could act as he thought fit. They cited the Divine law in Leviticus xx. 9, and Matt. xv. 4, as justifying an extreme penalty, but concluded with

* One of the charges was that he had ill-used his wife and taken a low-born woman for his mistress; a crime of which the accuser was himself far more conspicuously guilty. Voltaire supplies the characteristic excuse, that Peter had exchanged his wife for a woman of genius, while Alexis deserted a princess for a mean and ignorant person.

† The priest acknowledged on the rack that Alexis had confessed to wishing for his father's death, and that he had given him absolution with an assurance that all Russia shared in the wish.

the example of David sparing his son Absalom, and Christ delighting in mercy rather than sacrifice. The temporal judges also disclaimed any power in the law to limit the will of the Czar; but in passing sentence of death in obedience to his wishes, they expressly submitted it "to the merciful revisal of his czarish majesty." Catherine also joined her entreaties to spare the royal family the disgrace of an execution; but the prince's doom was determined before his accusation was spoken.

The manifesto, by which Peter endeavoured to justify his inhuman proceeding to Europe, asserts that subsequent to the sentence the prince was seized with an apoplectic fit in his prison, and expired after receiving the sacrament and obtaining his father's forgiveness. There is little doubt, however, that the infamous sentence was literally executed on the hapless victim, and by the personal order, if not in the presence, of his unnatural parent. Bruce, who was present at the trial and attending on the prince, writes that "very few believed he died a natural death, but it was dangerous for people to speak as they thought. The ministers of the emperor and the states of Holland were forbidden the court for speaking their minds too freely on this occasion, and upon complaint against them were recalled."* This writer relates, that on the day after the sentence was pronounced, the Czar repaired to his son's prison, attended by the senators, bishops, and other people of rank. After a time, Marshal Weyde, coming out, ordered Bruce to go to a druggist hard by, and bid him "make the potion strong, for the prince was very ill." The marshal followed his messenger, and having

* Bruce's Memoirs, 187.

received from the druggist a silver cup and cover, carried it into the apartment, both he and the tradesman exhibiting signs of the greatest anxiety and terror. Half an hour after, the Czar and his retinue withdrew, Bruce remaining in waiting to report any alteration in the prince's condition. Two physicians and two surgeons were also left in attendance, and these being soon after called into the room, found the prince in convulsions, in which he expired after great agonies.

This recital clearly negatives Peter's story of the reconciliation, the sacraments, etc., and unmistakably demonstrates the writer's belief that the victim was poisoned by a draught administered in the presence and by the hand of the Czar himself. Another writer affirms that Peter cut off his son's head after giving him the knout with his own hand; but the more generally received narration is that of Rusching, who states that the prince was beheaded by order of the Czar, and that Marshal Weyde was the executioner. By this horrid sacrifice the monarch hoped to extinguish the last hopes of any who might be secretly conspiring against his reforms. To glut his vengeance to the full, he inflicted the most terrible penalties on all whom he judged favourable to the cause of his son. His own sister Maria was imprisoned in the fortress of Schlussemburgh. The wretched mother of the murdered prince was falsely accused of a criminal intimacy with General Glebof; and after being scourged by two nuns at Moscow, was consigned to a rigorous imprisonment. The alleged partner of her offence was actually impaled alive. While writhing on the stake, he was approached by the Czar himself, with an offer of pardon on condition of his confessing the crime; but the dying man spat in the monster's face, and protested the innocence of his royal mistress and him-

self.* His corpse was exposed on a scaffold surrounded by the heads of Eudocia's brother, two bishops, and above fifty priests and monks, slaughtered for the double crime of compassionating the prince, and preferring the customs of their country to the innovations of an intemperate reformer.

Alexis left a son named Peter, towards whom the implacable monarch seemed determined to perpetuate his unnatural resentment. His desire to exclude the blood of Eudocia from the crown was chastised, however, by the death of her rival's son, also named Peter, in 1720. The Czar's other children were daughters, and as yet unmarried. Incessantly on the watch against the reactionary party, Peter resolved to secure his reforms at the sacrifice of his dynasty, and commanded his subjects to swear allegiance beforehand to whatever successor he might choose to nominate. The edict was odious both to the national sentiment and to the hopes already founded on the lineal heir; but death and confiscation were the penalties prescribed for disobedience, and the oath was taken with few outward manifestations of dissent. Nothing was gained in the end by this attempt to forestall the future, since, with the usual dislike of arbitrary minds to contemplate the cessation of their own power, Peter never exercised the singular privilege he demanded. It served, how-

* Peter's admiring biographers assume the guilt of his unfortunate wife; but the Czar's anxiety for a confession shows the absence of any reliable evidence of the crime, while the denial of Glebof, under excruciating torments, unites with her own character and sufferings to attest their innocence. The ground of suspicion seems to have been an alleged exchange of rings in token of a contract of marriage; but as this occurred (if at all) after Eudocia's divorce from Peter, and in the belief of his death, which was actually announced to her by the Archbishop of Rostoff, it is far from implying any criminality. The Czarina was a lady of strict religious observance and unblemished reputation; her fault indeed was an uncompromising opposition to the license assumed by her husband in religion, morals, and politics.

ever, to damp the courage of the old Russian party for the time, and preserved to the last the credit of the reformed policy.

Amid domestic troubles enough to have overwhelmed a weaker or more sensitive mind, the Czar never flagged in the great objects of his life, the aggrandizement and material prosperity of the empire. The war with Sweden was revived by the reappearance of Charles XII., who had long been supposed to be dead; and when that eccentric monarch fell by a cannon-shot before the walls of Fredericstadt in Norway, it was continued with yet greater hostility by his sister Ulrica. A peace, however, was at last concluded at Neustadt in August 1721, by the conditions of which Peter retained his conquests on the Baltic, including the whole of Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, Carelia, Viborg, and the neighbouring islands. The final acquisition of these long-disputed and valuable possessions was celebrated with the greatest rejoicings throughout Russia, and the Czar was hailed with the titles of Great, Emperor, and Father of his country.

The next year Peter set out, in company with Catherine, on an expedition to the Caspian, where he had long meditated an effort to increase the Russian trade with Persia and India. A civil war raging in Persia afforded him an opportunity of interfering, which he was not disposed to neglect. Descending the Volga as far as Astrakhan, then the chief mart for Persian produce, the Czar inspected the canals which were in formation to connect the three seas, and made an alliance with the Kalnuick Tartars for the projected expedition to the southward. Having embarked at Astrakhan with 50,000 men, and landed in Daghistan, he pushed on to Derbend at the southern foot of the

Caucasus. This town was at once surrendered by the governor of the Shah, and many tempting offers were made to purchase the Russian co-operation against the rebels; but some of the provision ships having been lost on the Caspian, the Czar determined to withdraw. The expedition was ill-judged and disastrous; nevertheless the Shah, being left exposed to his domestic enemies, was soon after reduced to supplicate the assistance of Russia and the Ottoman Porte, when the former obtained, as the price of her services, the provinces of Cuilan, Mazanderan, and Asterabad.*

These were the last of Peter's many additions to the Russian territory. The principal incident in the short remainder of his reign was the coronation of his beloved Catherine, the companion of his perils, the soother of his passions, and the ardent participant of his loftiest counsels. The Czar never showed his boasted magnanimity more than in the honours which he heaped upon his low-born consort. He walked before her in the procession, wearing the order of St. Catherine, which he had instituted for ladies with the motto "Love and Fidelity," in memory of her services on the Pruth. The crown was placed upon her head with his own hand, and a public manifesto acknowledged the many marks of devotion to himself and the state, which had entitled her to these distinctions.

Only a few months after, Peter was called away from the scene on which he had striven for seven and thirty years to play the foremost part. A long-neglected malady had undermined his iron frame, and when the physicians were at last consulted, their skill was neutralized by his indomitable activity. He was seized

* These provinces were restored in a subsequent reign, but again recovered by Russia at a later period.

with fever on the lake Ladoga, and arrived at Petersburg exhausted and delirious. After some ineffectual attempts to write, he sent for his daughter Anne to receive his last wishes, but falling into convulsions before her arrival, the Czar expired in the arms of Catherine, without recovering his speech, the 28th January 1725.

With many glaring defects of principle, temper, and habit, Peter was undoubtedly a great benefactor to his country. Perceiving the value of European civilization, he was determined, at all costs, to make his subjects partake of it. His wars were not more unjust than usual, and they were at least directed to the increase of his country's greatness. His policy, except when distorted by his ungovernable passions, was clear and sagacious, and he was always ready to sacrifice, not life and ease only, but the family interests which are generally dearer than either, to the good of his empire. He found Russia a rude, uncivilized country, little respected abroad, and plunged in the deepest ignorance at home. He left her a great European power, with an enlarged territory, a flourishing trade, an improved system of manufactures, and the rudiments, at least, of science and art; all under the protection of a well-disciplined army and a considerable naval force.

Such prodigious results his admirers think it impossible to have achieved without many infractions of ordinary morality. It is admitted, that neither justice nor mercy ever arrested for a moment the career of this unscrupulous monarch. He would have better deserved the title of *Great*, if he had shown his subjects an example of temperance and self-control; if he had been true and faithful in his dealings; if he had upheld the sacred claims of justice and law; if he had lightened the bondage of the hapless serf; if he had striven to

shed a spirit of honour and integrity over public affairs, and of sobriety and purity throughout family life; if he had known, in short, that human nature is elevated by the moral virtues flowing from a devout submission to God, far more than by territorial acquisitions or the development of manufacturing resources.

These are, in fact, the real elements of genuine civilization, but these were beyond the reach of Peter's impetuous and unsanctified nature. With all his knowledge, this great king was a stranger to the "wisdom that is from above." * With all his aspiring genius, he never discovered that "righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people." † In a word, he was ignorant of his own heart, ignorant of Christ, and of the saving power of spiritual religion. This ignorance, contrasted with his natural talents and energy, renders the renowned Czar a melancholy illustration of that Divine saying: "If the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!" ‡

* James iii. 17.

† Proverbs xiv. 34.

‡ Matt. vi. 1

CHAPTER V.

THE MODERN EMPIRE—(*continued*).

Law of Primogeniture—Grand Duke Peter—Daughters of Catherine—Daughters of Ivan V.—Intrigues for the Succession—Catherine I.—Her Disposition of the Crown—Peter II.—Reaction—His unexpected Death—Fresh Disputes for the Succession—Election of Anna Ivanovna—Constitutional Action—Perfidy of the Empress—Despotism restored—Her Favourite Biren—War with Turkey—Exchange of Provinces on the Caspian—Death of the Empress—Ivan VI.—Biren Regent—His Expulsion—Anne of Mecklenburgh—War with Sweden—Discords at Court—Revolution—Elizabeth Empress—Treatment and Death of Ivan—Cruel Punishments—Vicious Life of Elizabeth—War with Prussia—Peter III.—His German Tastes—Intrigues of his Wife—Midnight Revolution—Deposition and Death of Peter—Catherine II.—Pretenders—The Kossack Pugatchef—Immorality of the Empress—Her Unbelief and Luxury—Palaces—States-General—New Code of Laws—Paper Currency—Foreign Policy—Partition of Poland—Kosciusko—Seizure of the Crimea—Treaty of Jassy—Invasion of Persia—Death of Catherine—Emperor Paul—Law of Succession—Dissolution of the Guards—Secret Police—Apprehensions of Conspiracy—Alliance against Bonaparte—The Kossacks—Suwarrow—Campaign in Italy—Defeat of Kossakow—Change of Policy—Alliance against England—Madness of Paul—His Assassination—Alexander I—War with France—Peace of Tilsit—Humiliation of Prussia—Peace with Turkey—French Alliance defeated by England—Napoleon's Invasion of Russia—Battle of the Borodino—Taking of Moscow—Conflagration—Retreat and Destruction of the French Army—Peace in Europe—Russian Aggrandizement in the East—Georgia—Bessarabia—Caucasus—Duplicity of Russia—Intrigues in Greece—Liberties of Poland—Holy Alliance—Russian Liberals—Suspicious Death of Alexander—Nicolas—Attempted Revolution—Despotic Character of Emperor—Extinction of Polish Rights—Crimean Acquisitions—War with Turkey—Treaties of Adrianople and Unkiar Skelessi—Convention of London—Intrigues in Persia and Affghanistan—Perfidy of Nicolas—Quarrel with Turkey—Invasion of Danubian Provinces—War with Western Powers—Siege of Sebastopol—Death of Nicolas—Remarks—Accession of Alexander II.—Capture of Sebastopol by the Allies—Peace of Paris—Table of the House of Romanoff.

THE death of Peter was followed by a long series of revolutions, the direct result of his abolition of the law of succession, which inflicted greater evils on the empire

than could have flowed from the unopposed accession of the most incompetent prince. The law of primogeniture cannot protect the throne from an unworthy occupant; but no better guarantee is presented by a testamentary bequest, or by a tumultuous election; while the competition inseparable from either of these courses leads inevitably to revolution and anarchy. The real alternative to the hereditary principle is *force*, which, besides implying no moral fitness in the possessor, leaves society without protection to life or property till the right of the strongest is established. The order of birth seems the nearest to the order of Providence; and a further reason for its inviolable observance is the difficulty of returning to it when disturbed. This law, once abrogated by Peter, was not properly restored till the accession of the emperor Alexander II. In all that period of more than a century and a quarter, not a single Russian monarch came to the throne without a revolution, involving the death, imprisonment, or exile of the opposing faction.*

Peter's proper heir was the Grand Duke Peter, only child of the murdered Alexis, and the last male representative of the house of Romanoff. Next to him, if their illegitimate birth could be surmounted, came the daughters of Peter and Catherine, Anne and Elizabeth, the former of whom was married to the Duke of Holstein, by whom she had a son also named Peter. Before them, however, and before Peter the Great in the proper order of birth, were the daughters of Ivan V., his elder brother and partner in the throne. Catherine, the eldest of these, was married to the Duke of Mecklen-

* Paul is the only apparent exception; but when it is considered that he was postponed to his mother, and murdered with the cognizance, at least, of his children, the statement in the text hardly needs to be qualified.

burg; the second, Anna, was the widow of Kettler, Duke of Courland; and a third was still unmarried, at Petersburg.* The title of these princesses was not affected by the joint-settlement of the crown on their father and uncle, since there was nothing in that settlement to determine the succession to the children of the one emperor more than the other. Peter's could urge the claim of survivorship, but Ivan's had the advantage in the order of seniority, and were, moreover, connected on the mother's side with an influential Russian family.

These conflicting pretensions were doubtless in the mind of Peter I. when he determined to supersede them all, by disposing of the crown at his own discretion. His intention, it would appear, was to nominate his eldest daughter, the Duchess of Holstein; and this was probably his motive in sending for her at the moment of his death.† But Menzikoff, who from a pastrycook's boy had risen to a principality and to enormous influence, determined to prolong his power by securing the crown to Catherine, his former laundress and companion.

With this object in view, he took possession of the citadel and treasure before Peter had expired, and the moment the breath was out of his body, introduced the empress to the assembled nobles as the successor designated by the late Czar. The pretext for this claim was her recent coronation by the hand of her husband. A bishop was procured to attest that Peter had privately declared this to be his meaning in performing that ceremony. The falsehood was transparent, but Menzikoff cut short the deliberation by crying, "Long live

* See Table of the House of Romanoff, p. 237.

† Distinct traces of such an intention appear in the diplomatic correspondence of the time, and the decree of February 1722 seems to have been designed to pave the way for her nomination. (See Cox's Travels, ii. 348.)

the empress !"—at the same time calling in the guards, whom he had previously secured by a bribe of 6*l.* a head to enforce his views. The opponents were obliged to consent to a unanimous recognition, and for the second time in the history of Russia, at a distance of eight hundred years from the precedent of Olga, the throne was ascended by a female sovereign.

The reign of Catherine I. was far from justifying the encomiums bestowed on the consort of Peter. The humanity natural to her sex and disposition was disgraced by low and licentious habits, more congenial to a barrack than a palace. The immoralities of her early years were, in fact, surpassed by the excesses of her age. Temperance and chastity were unknown at her court; and though she recalled a number of exiles from Siberia, she took care to exclude from her mercy the relatives and friends of the hapless Eudocia, who was herself still left to languish in the dungeons of Schlus-selburg. The empress reduced some of the heavy taxes imposed by Peter, and was popular enough with the nation, little accustomed to scrutinize the morals of its rulers. Yet her reign produced no advantage to Russia at home or abroad; and no one regretted its termination when the strange career of the Livonian serf-girl was closed by a death hastened by inebriety, on the 17th May 1727.

The power demanded by Peter to dispose of the crown by will was actually exercised by Catherine, but in favour of the lineal heir, to whom she had promised at her accession to act as a mother. Her will, to which her name was appended by the Princess Elizabeth—for this sovereign empress could neither read nor write—declared the Grand Duke Peter her successor, appointing a council of regency to consist of the Duke and

Duchess of Holstein, the Princess Elizabeth, Menzikoff, and some others, till the Czar should attain his sixteenth year. There was also an article directing the regency to bring about a marriage between the young emperor and a daughter of Menzikoff. Fortified by this provision, the latter began at once to domineer over his colleagues. From the first meeting of the council he seized the direction of affairs into his own hands, excluded the Duke and Duchess of Holstein, and even compelled them to leave the Russian dominions.

His arrogance, however, received an unexpected check. The emperor was by no means satisfied with a bride provided for him by the choice of another, and being worked upon by the old families, who enjoyed his private intimacy, he suddenly assumed the government at twelve years of age, and banished Menzikoff to Siberia, where he died two years after. His removal opened the door to the reactionary spirit which Peter the Great had so sedulously endeavoured to repress. The emperor recalled his grandmother Eudocia to grace his coronation, formed a new matrimonial alliance with one of the Dolgoroukow family, and carried back the imperial residence to Moscow.

The hopes excited by these proceedings were doomed, however, to a sudden and severe disappointment. Peter II. died of the smallpox on the 29th January 1730, the day appointed for his marriage, and the crown was again thrown into the arena as a prize for the strongest. A wild attempt was made by the Dolgoroukies to secure it to the intended empress, by means of a forged testament in her favour. This being at once disposed of, recurrence was had to the provisions of Catherine's will, by which the succession was entailed, after the youthful Peter, on her own

daughters by Peter I. The Duchess of Holstein, who was the eldest, had deceased in 1728, leaving a son who was now with his father in Germany, but the aversion to foreigners universally felt in Russia was fatal to the consideration of his claim. Elizabeth, the next daughter, was said to be unwilling to accept the succession: the assembled senators therefore went back to the daughters of Ivan V. Of these, again, the eldest was disqualified by the objection entertained to a foreign family, and the deliberation resulted in the choice of Anna, widow of the Duke of Courland.

The prize was not awarded without conditions. A glimmer of constitutional action again made its appearance in the councils of Russian statesmen. Gailtzin, the most eminent of their number, had favoured the election of Anna, in the hope that a sovereign without pretence to lawful succession would be the more easily bound to the conditions imposed by the electors. He insisted that the welfare of the nation demanded some restriction on the powers of the crown. Its despotism, he said, had been sustained by foreign influences, and in conferring it on a new sovereign certain conditions should be imposed on the exercise of the prerogative. It was provided, accordingly, that the empress should govern by the advice of her council; that neither war nor peace should be made at her private will; that no new taxes should be imposed without their consent; that noblemen should not be punished till convicted of the crimes laid to their charge; that the crown lands should not be alienated; and that the empress should neither marry, nor name an heir, without the consent of the council.

These moderate stipulations show the nature of the despotism exercised by Peter and Catherine, as well

as the wisdom and prudence of some whom it has been the fashion to decry as the enemies of civilization and reform. It has been objected that these conditions would only have substituted an oligarchy for a despotism, and it is true that they contained no provision for the liberty of the masses. The same defect, however, may be traced in the earliest stages of the British constitution. *Magna Charta* itself secured only for the freedom of the barons; and the Bill of Rights, in 1688, would be considered a paltry and chivalric measure if compared with the Reform Bill of 1832. A constitution can only assert political rights for the classes whose position in society enables them to act with freedom, and Russia under Peter the Great was as destitute of the elements of popular institutions as England under King John. All that could be done in either land was to limit the crown, by establishing a consultative right in the "great men" of the nation; the villeins and serfs were unavoidably left till a social emancipation should render popular franchises possible. Another article in these conditions suggests a melancholy reflection on the state of Russian morals. The princess whom the chiefs of the empire deliberately selected to be the ruler and example of the nation, was forbidden to bring with her an attendant, whom she had procured to be dignified with the title of her deceased husband, and whose position in her affections threatened a new favourite in the place of Menzikoff.

The stipulations were all readily subscribed to by the unprincipled Anna, and were as readily abrogated the moment she felt herself firm on the throne. Supported by the nobles omitted from the council, by the guards, and by the populace, the empress required the majority of the new senate to repudiate its feeble attempt at con-

stitutional action; and tearing up the conditions before their faces, she issued a manifesto which claimed the throne by hereditary right, and exacted a new oath of allegiance in that character. Then sending for the proscribed chamberlain, Biren titular Duke of Courland, she created him a Russian count, and leaving the government to his administration, surrendered herself to a life of licentiousness, only a little refined above that of her predecessors, by the substitution of music and dancing for their coarser forms of dissipation.

Anna resumed hostilities with the Turks, in the hope of recovering the places surrendered by Peter I. on the Black Sea; but the war was without any satisfactory result, and instead of extending the Russian frontier, the cost of the provinces on the Caspian, ceded by Persia to Peter I., proved so considerable, that the empress was glad to be relieved of them, in exchange for some commercial privileges in the dominions of the Sultan.

The empress Anna died in 1740, having bequeathed the crown to Ivan, the infant grandson of her elder son, and appointed her favourite Biren to be regent till the emperor should attain the age of seventeen. This provision occasioned universal discontent. Anne of Mecklenburgh, Ivan's mother, was still living, and possessed an hereditary claim to the throne before the deceased empress herself. Neither she nor her husband, a prince of Brunswick, could submit to be supplanted in the guardianship of their own child by a low-born foreigner, intruded upon the country in violation of an express condition made at the last accession. Their complaints were shared by the people, and found a response from the soldiers, who now practically enjoyed

the disposal of the crown. It was in vain that the new regent resorted unsparingly to the old expedients of the knout, the rack, and the mines; these were royal privileges, not to be exercised by meaner despots. Dreaded and obeyed so long as his orders were issued with an imperial sanction, he was quickly disposed of when he tried to rule by himself. A party of guards arrested him in the middle of the night, and conveyed him to the castle of Schlusselfburg. The princess Anne was proclaimed as Grand Duchess and Regent; and Biren, after being condemned to death, was banished to Siberia, whither he had himself despatched twenty thousand exiles during the period of his authority.

These sudden changes in the government encouraged Sweden to attempt the recovery of the districts ceded to Peter I., and the war was renewed in 1741, but without any advantage to the enemy. A more serious danger arose from the discords prevailing at home. The regent and her husband headed two opposing factions at court, and were both regarded by the people in the odious aspect of foreigners. The emperor himself was deemed a German, more than a Russian, prince; and a new revolution was set on foot in favour of Elizabeth, the daughter of Peter and Catherine. This was carried into effect, in the usual method, by a midnight attack on the palace by the Preobrajenskoi guards. The emperor and his mother were seized and committed to custody; and with break of day the compliant inhabitants of the capital were informed that a new sovereign demanded their allegiance.

The manifestoes of Elizabeth claimed the throne in right of Catherine's will, affirming that the Empress Anna was unlawfully elected through the machinations of conspirators, and that Ivan had not the slightest

claim by inheritance. This was so far true, that the right of primogeniture, as already pointed out, lay with his mother. But neither was the claim of Elizabeth sustained by the instrument to which she appealed. For by Catherine's will, the succession was limited, in the first instance to her eldest daughter, Anne of Holstein, and her son Peter was undoubtedly the heir under that bequest.

The new empress, beginning her reign with many professions of clemency, undertook that Ivan and his mother should be restored to the land of their birth ; but the promise was never fulfilled, and they were detained in different Russian fortresses till released by death. The grand duchess died a few years after (1746); but her unfortunate son languished in solitary confinement till he became deranged in his intellect. The poor idiot was visited in his dungeon both by Elizabeth and her successor ; but though affected to tears by the miserable spectacle, neither had the humanity, or the courage, to release the eldest representative of the House of Romanoff.*

A bold attempt was made for his rescue in 1764, when the jailers, who had orders to kill their state prisoners rather than suffer their escape, hacked him in pieces with their swords, in the twenty-fifth year of a life wholly consumed in a dungeon.

Elizabeth carried her professions of mercy to the extent of abolishing capital punishment ; but humanity gained little by the penalties inflicted in its place. The

* Ivan was survived by two brothers and two sisters born in captivity, who, as well as his father, were kept rigorously imprisoned. The father died about 1776, after languishing thirty-five years in confinement for the crime of marrying, with the sovereign's consent, the heiress to the Russian throne. In 1780, his four children were released and conveyed into Denmark, where they resided under the protection of their aunt the queen dowager.

state prisons were filled with sufferers who perished unheard of and unknown. The inquisition of the secret chancery was in constant operation; the mines of Siberia, and the gloomy dungeons of the north, immured all who fell under the least suspicion. The empress's own physician Lestocq, the contriver of the revolution to which she owed her crown, was sent to meditate on the ingratitude of princes in one of the fortresses of Archangel. The cruel knout, the cutting out of tongues, and other barbarities, were practised without mercy, and even on females.*

In her personal conduct, it must be enough to state that Elizabeth is infamous for immorality even among Russian queens. These pages cannot be polluted with any more particular reference to the manners of her court. Neither is it necessary to recall the incidents of the long war with Prussia, during which Berlin was taken and occupied by a Russian army, inasmuch as it resulted in no permanent territorial changes. The empress died in 1761, after resisting the intrigues which were made to change once more the order of succession, and left the crown to her nephew, Peter III.

This unfortunate monarch, who was the son of Anne daughter of Peter the Great, and Charles Frederick Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, originally received the names of Charles Peter Ulric, and was brought up in Germany in the Lutheran religion. On the accession of Elizabeth, being nominated Grand Duke of Russia and heir to the throne, he removed to Petersburg, and was baptized into the national church, assuming the name

* It is hardly to be credited that two Russian countesses were publicly *knouted* at Petersburg, had their tongues cut out, and were exiled to Siberia by order of this "humane" empress. Their offence was the freedom of their comments on the disgraceful life led by Elizabeth.

of Peter Feodorovitch. Though then only fourteen years of age, he was permitted to grow up without any princely education, in the gross, coarse habits of his native province, joined with the unrestrained profligacy of the Russian capital. His affections and tastes were German, and his antipathy to Russian customs was avowed with a freedom that deprived him of all popular respect. The King of Prussia was the chief object of his admiration: for his sake he thwarted the war, as far as he could, during the reign of Elizabeth; and the moment he came to the throne, he concluded a peace, which restored all the Russian conquests to the enemy. Peter's delight was to wear the Prussian uniform, and to claim that monarch as his master. He actually seemed to take pleasure in wounding and defying the feelings of the nation he was called to govern. He ordered the parochial clergy to shave off their beards, seized the church property into his own hands, commanded the *icons* to be removed from the churches, ridiculed the Greek ceremonial, and set up a Lutheran chapel in his palace. The army he offended by introducing the Prussian discipline, and placing them under German officers. The imperial guard was especially affronted by an order to take their turn in the general duties of the line, instead of remaining always at the capital, where they were accustomed to dictate to, and to dispose of, the throne. With all these causes of offence, it is no wonder that the emperor had but few friends to rely upon, while a formidable opponent had been conspiring against him even from before his accession.

Peter's greatest misfortune and peril lay in his wife, — a princess whose iniquities tower above all her predecessors in the Russian court. She was a daughter

of the Prince of Anhalt-Zerbzt, and on professing the Greek religion as a preliminary to her marriage, had received the baptismal name of Catherine. Sacrificing, like her husband, the faith in which she was educated to worldly advancement, she had a much keener perception than he of the methods necessary to secure the objects of their joint apostasy. By making it her study to conciliate the national feelings, she assiduously strengthened her party, both at court and among the people. For Peter she entertained a contempt, which was first changed into aversion by his neglect, and then to a still deadlier hostility by her own flagrant violations of the marriage vow. She was intriguing to get him excluded from the succession when Elizabeth died, and he became armed with the power of punishing her crimes. Personal safety no less than ambition then urged her to anticipate the blow. It would be disgusting to detail the conspiracies that ensued; the royal couple were running a race against each other, in which the astuteness of the wife gained the advantage over the power of the husband.

The Russians, like the people of Bengal, valued themselves on obeying the throne, caring little who was seated upon it; the struggle, therefore, was who should strike the first blow. Peter had caused a house to be built for the empress within the fortress of Schlusselburg, and had actually fixed the time for her arrest; but while he dallied with the power in his hands, Catherine was bribing the guards, and conspiring with the various malcontents in the church, the senate, and the streets. The crisis became a question of hours, and even of minutes. Peter, though made aware of the plot through the arrest of one of Catherine's agents, was not prompt enough to defeat it. The empress hastened

her *coup d'état* : leaving her country residence in the middle of the night, and reaching the capital in a cart, she proceeded to the barracks where the troops immediately declared in her favour. The Archbishop of Novgorod was ready in the church, and the crown was placed upon her head. The populace meanwhile were distracted with reports, at one moment that the empress had narrowly escaped assassination, at another that the Czar was killed by a fall from his horse.

Peter had proceeded to Peterhof to dine with Catherine by appointment; he found her fled, and was soon astounded by the news of the revolution. The next tidings were that the empress was coming against him at the head of 10,000 men. He retreated in alarm to Oranienbaum, where his German troops implored to be led against the rebels. Peter, however, agitated by a thousand fears, despatched an offer to resign the crown on condition of being allowed to retire into Holstein. Catherine persuaded his messenger to reconduct him to Peterhof, where he was made a prisoner, and induced to sign an unconditional abdication. No sooner was the act completed than he was stripped of the imperial orders, and immured in a fortress, without being permitted to see the empress. Within a week Peter was no more! Symptoms of a reaction in his favour appeared among the soldiers, and his fate was sealed. A deadly poison, put into his wine, failing to do the work quick enough, his wife's agents rushed into the apartment and strangled him. The court physicians certified to a natural death, and the corpse was interred with a marked absence of regal distinctions.

Catherine's hardened conscience probably gave her little trouble on the throne she had thus secured; but it was not so easy to silence the murmurs of the nation

disgraced by her usurpation. The popular discontent manifested itself in the shape of numerous impostors, who appeared in different parts of the country, assuming the name of Peter III., escaped from his enemies. No sooner was one claimant got rid of than another started up, as it were the ghost of the murdered Czar, to disquiet his guilty successor.

The most famous of these pretenders was a Kossack of the name of Pugatchef, who, though bearing little or no resemblance to the person of Peter, contrived to pass for the deceased Czar, and deceived many thousands of his subjects. His chief supporters were the *stur-overski*, or "old believers," estranged from the church by the reforms of Nikon, and the Kossacks of the Ural, exasperated by their beards being shaved on enlisting into a regiment of hussars. Appearing first in the neighbourhood of the Ural, where he was joined by the mutineers, Pugatchef secured the adhesion of the unsettled Baschkirs, and of several thousands of Kalmuck horsemen. The peasantry flocked to his standard as to a deliverer, a character which he sustained by proclaiming the emancipation of the serfs and the extirpation of the nobles. All officers and gentlemen who fell into his hands were invariably put to death. The atrocious cruelties which he perpetrated, wherever he went, seemed to attract, rather than alienate, the masses brutalized by the oppression of centuries. He took Orenburg by siege, ranged the whole mountain district, stormed Kasan, passed down the Volga and seized Saratof, everywhere devastating the country with horrible carnage. Though defeated again and again by the royal troops, his camp was still replenished with swarms of serfs and Kossacks. He was at last encountered at the head of 20,000 men, and put to the rout in a de-

cisive battle. Escaping across the Volga with only sixty followers, he plunged into the desert, but was seized by his companions and delivered up to the government, who caused him to be executed at Moscow, where his cause had elicited numerous tokens of sympathy.

The accession of Catherine II. was ruinous to the little that remained of female virtue in the court of Russia. The annals of the world can hardly supply a parallel to one, who has been not unjustly termed the Messalina and the Semiramis of the north. It would be impossible to do more than glance at her wickedness. She polluted the ladies about her, who in turn communicated the taint to the classes below them, till the whole sex, giddy with its recent emancipation from Asiatic seclusion, reeled with the poison. All the glory of the foreign acquisitions made in this reign cannot compensate for the flood of moral turpitude, with which the example and influence of the sovereign devastated the land.

In religion she was of course an unbeliever. Her vaunted love of literature confined itself to the "philosophy falsely so called," disseminated by the infidel writers of the French Revolution. Voltaire was her favourite correspondent; and her letters to him, admitted to be her best composition, abound in the scoffing, witless scepticism of his shallow school.

A woman immoral, irreligious, and possessed of irresponsible power, can never be other than selfish and oppressive. Catherine lavished the public treasure on her favourites, and suffered the whole administration of government to be corrupted by the fraud and rapacity of their numerous underlings. The capital swarmed with princes and counts, created for the basest services,

while the old nobility were ridiculed and excluded. Every office was made a means of extortion; the recognised salaries were so low that the holders could only remunerate themselves by illegitimate profits. Honour and integrity disappeared, and the entire state of society became demoralized. All that was required of the provincial governors was to satisfy the enormous expenditure of the crown. New taxes, imposed by imperial edicts, were levied with a rigour that doubled or even trebled the burdens of the people. But no complaint could reach the ears of the voluptuous sovereign, encircled by favourites and absorbed in vanity and pleasure.

Catherine expended enormous sums in the construction and furnishing of imperial residences, where she revelled in a luxury which excited the astonishment of foreigners, and contrasted strangely with the poverty and misery at her gates. The Winter palace, built for the Empress Elizabeth, another called the Hermitage, and several other spacious edifices, were united by her order into a residence of extraordinary dimensions, decorated with more than regal magnificence. The level roof was laid out in a summer garden, after the Asiatic style; for the season when this lay buried in snow, a winter garden was provided, enclosed with glass, filled with flowers and plants from various climes, and vocal with the song of birds flitting from tree to tree. Near this stood the Marble palace, one of the only two stone buildings in Petersburg;* and at no great distance was the Taurique, where Potemkin entertained his empress in a style of voluptuous luxury, exceeding all that was ever imagined in orien-

* The other was the church of St. Isaac. All the remaining buildings were of brick, stuccoed.

tal romances, and at a cost that defies both calculation and conjecture.

In the suburbs of the capital, Peterhof and the Tsarkoe Zelo furnished retreats of no less costliness. The natural marsh was transformed into limpid lakes, lined with marble. The green bowers and terraces were broken by colonnades, profusely embellished with gold and Siberian marbles, wrought by Italian art. All attested the triumph of taste over nature; but it was purchased at the cost of inconceivable treasures, wrung from a half-starving population.

With all this neglect of the chief duties of government, Catherine affected the character of a legislative reformer. A new code, published as her own composition, was promulgated with much pomp at Moscow, and received with a fulsome adulation by the deputies assembled from all parts of the empire for the occasion. The professed object was to consolidate the previous codes and ukases into a uniform rational system of legislation. The empress's language was imitated, or rather copied, from her favourite philosophical writers; but so far was the code from enunciating any real principle of freedom, that its whole purport went to reassert the old Muscovite despotism in the most absolute rigour. The liberty of the subject was defined as doing whatever is not forbidden by the Czar. "The sovereign," it declares, "is absolute, for there is no other authority, but that which centres in his single person, that can act with a vigour proportionate to the extent of so vast a dominion," and "it is better to be subject to one master than to many." This German princess, placed on the throne by revolution, without a drop of royal blood in her veins, asserted a prerogative exceeding all that was ever claimed

elsewhere for the "divine right of kings." Yet her pretensions were received with applause by the writers of the revolutionary school; for it is not uncommon in demagogues, who rail at lawful authority, to grovel before an iron despotism, when it clothes itself in specious and high-sounding phrases.*

Catherine was the first to introduce a paper currency into Russia, copied like other European inventions, without understanding its true principles and application. Within proper limits it proved so convenient a substitute for the old payments in coin (of which the supply was inadequate and the transport inconvenient), that the *assignats* mounted to a considerable premium. Delighted with the discovery of this new mine of wealth, and wholly ignorant of the laws of finance, the empress augmented the issue to meet her reckless expenditure, and the result was an enormous depreciation of the paper, attended by a panic little short of national bankruptcy. The gold and silver coin nearly all disappeared; partly from the habit of hoarding among the peasantry, partly from the enormous sums sent out of the country to support the crooked diplomacy of the empress, and partly from the operations of the Jews, who, when the rouble had sunk below its intrinsic value, from the general fall of credit, secretly bought them up for the foreign market. Hardly anything was left but copper, and this was abstracted in large quantities by corrupt practices at the mines. The empress's resource was to adulterate the

* Catherine no sooner discovered the popular tendencies of the French theories, than she visited her literary friends with every expression of contempt and indignation. The busts of Fox and Voltaire were cast out of her gallery; the American Revolution was denounced as a flagrant rebellion; Washington was a traitor; and no man of honour, she contended, could wear the order of Cincinnati.

coin, and this device was extensively carried into operation, before her death arrested the mischief.

It was in the foreign policy of her government that the talents and genius of the empress were most conspicuously displayed. Her favourite minister Potemkin possessed, amid much indolence and frivolity, an aptitude for military affairs, which raised the Russian army to a level with the best disciplined troops of Europe; and Catherine had no scruple in directing their arms to the aggrandizement of her empire.

The powers open to her encroachments were Poland, Turkey, and Persia. The first had been under Russian influence from the time of Peter I. Its elective monarchy almost invited the interference of neighbouring states, and the last two kings had been chosen in the Russian interest. A vacancy occurring again in 1763, Catherine supported the pretensions of one of her favourites, Count Stanislaus Poniatowski, and his election was ensured by the presence of 10,000 Russian bayonets in Warsaw. After directing the actions of her royal puppet for a few years, the empress received a proposal from her philosophical correspondent, Frederick of Prussia, to despoil the helpless kingdom of a portion of its territory, and divide it between themselves. Catherine greedily acquiesced in the project, but suggested the necessity of offering Austria a share. A treaty was signed by the three powers at Petersburg, August 5th 1772, and insolently presented for the acceptance of the king and diet of Poland. As an army from each power accompanied the proposition, the deliberation was short. Some of the deputies absented themselves, many were bribed, and only eight or ten were bold enough to resist.

By this first partition Russia obtained Polotsk, Wi-

tepsk, Micislaf, and part of Podolia, a territory of more than 3000 square leagues, with a million and half of inhabitants. Prussia took Malborg, Pomerania, Warmia, Culm, and part of Great Poland. Galicia, Sendomir, Cracow, and a portion of Podolia, were the share of Austria. The taste of plunder seldom fails to stimulate the appetite, and it was easy to find grounds of quarrel in the unhappy license of the Polish constitution. Too democratic already for the slender political qualities of the electors, it caught the infection of the French Revolution in 1791, and assumed a more republican form. The despots of Russia and Prussia at once declared war. A second partition was carried at the point of the sword, by which the Russian frontier was advanced to the middle of Lithuania and Volhynia, while the remainder of Great and a part of Little Poland went to Prussia.

The Poles were not so destitute of patriotism and honour as to yield without another struggle. Though accessible to corruption, they have never been wanting in bravery, and a general insurrection followed, headed by Kosciusko. The Russians were expelled from the fortresses, and a faint hope of success gleamed for a moment on the patriot arms. But the contest was too unequal: Kosciusko was captured and consigned to a Russian prison, Warsaw capitulated, and Stanislaus was deposed. A third partition put Prussia in possession of the territory from the Vistula to the Niemen: Austria took Cracow, with the country as far as the Bug; and the remainder of the Polish territory was transferred to Russia. The German sovereigns did not perceive, that by the extinction of Poland, their own capitals were thrown open to the Russian armies; nor did Russia foresee that the road to Moscow was being rendered practicable to another invader.

With Turkey hostilities were continued through a large portion of Catherine's reign. The Sultan declared war in the hope of diverting her designs upon Poland; but Catherine invaded the Crimea, carried the lines of Perecop, and expelled the Khan.* The Turks were defeated in a great battle on the banks of the Pruth in 1770. A fleet sent into the Mediterranean under English officers destroyed their navy, and the Pashas of Egypt, Syria, and Tripoli were incited to rebel. When peace was concluded by the treaty of Kainardski (1774), Russia was left entitled to the navigation of the Black Sea and the Danube, with the fortresses of Azof, Taganrog, Kertch, and Kinburn, and the territory between the Bug and the Dnieper. The Crimea was declared independent, which was in effect to subject it to Catherine, who two years after deposed the Khan and appointed another. The empress put her own interpretation on every treaty, and evaded its conditions at pleasure. Volunteering her protection to Christians of the Greek church in Wallachia and Moldavia, she next encouraged those provinces to revolt against the Porte, and though new engagements were signed at Constantinople in 1779, her perfidy continued to give cause of complaint. In 1783 she seized the revenues of the Crimea, pensioned the Khan, and annexed the country to the imperial crown. At the same time she advanced her troops into the Caucasus, and incorporated Kuban and Taman with the empire. The Porte prepared again for hostilities, but, terrified by the opposing armaments, consented to a fresh treaty at Constantinople in 1784, which recognised the Russian sovereignty over the territories so unblushingly appropriated.

Incensed by new encroachments, the Turks resorted

to war again in 1787, and were met by an alliance of Austria with Russia. Otsakof, Sobach, and Soubitza fell to the allies in the first campaign. The Ottoman fleet was defeated on the Euxine; Galatza, Ackerman, Bender, and Ismail were successively captured, and the Russians were on the high road to Adrianople when the exhausted Ottomans sued for peace, and the treaty of Jassy, signed January 9th 1792, confirmed Catherine in the possession of her conquests from the Bug to the Dniester.

Against Persia her designs were less immediately successful. They commenced by taking under Russian protection the kingdom of Georgia, with some of the petty states adjacent, which were formerly subject to Persia, but after the dismemberment of the empire of the Sophis had engaged in a struggle for independence. Catherine, placing a garrison in Teflis, determined to make it the basis for further operations in her own interests. An opportunity was afforded by the intestine dissensions of Persia. Mehemet Khan, who had seized the kingdom and expelled his brothers, bursting into Georgia, sacked and burned the capital, and carried off 50,000 prisoners into slavery. Catherine immediately asserted the claims of one of the refugee princes to the crown of Persia, and prepared an expedition to overrun the kingdom, and secure the rich commerce of the east to herself. An army of 30,000 men was collected at Kislar, from whence it advanced into Daghistan, and once more planted the Russian standard on the walls of Derbend. From this point they advanced along the coast of the Caspian as far as the plain of Mogan; subduing several important fortresses by the way, but suffering greatly from the climate and the attacks of the savage mountaineers of

the Caucasus. Such was the position of affairs when a fit of apoplexy put an end to Catherine's life, and her power was devolved to a successor of very different views, A.D. 1796.

The Grand Duke Paul was born ten years after Catherine's marriage with Peter. His mother had proclaimed him heir to the throne at the moment of the revolution, from the same motive which induced Catherine I. to fortify her usurpation by the prospect of a legitimate king, educated under imperial auspices. Paul, however, received none of the princely education bestowed on Peter II. He became an object of aversion to his unprincipled mother, who excluded him from public affairs, while the employments and revenues of the state were monopolized by the minions of her pleasures. There is little doubt that she had designed to transfer the succession to his son, the Grand Duke Alexander, when death frustrated the intention. It is not surprising that Paul was animated by a resentment which he took every opportunity of displaying. His first act was to disinter the remains of the murdered Peter, and cause them to be reburied with royal honours along with those of the empress. As the late Czar, in his contempt for the national customs, had never celebrated his coronation, Paul ordered his corpse to be crowned, and receive the genuflections of the people. Orloff, one of his murderers, and high in the favour of Catherine, was compelled to attend this extraordinary funeral: an act of retribution, designed to vindicate the filial piety of the emperor, and to stigmatize the crimes of his mother.

At his coronation Paul issued a manifesto renouncing the mischievous claim to dispose of the throne by will, and restoring the succession to the ordinary

rules of hereditary descent. To give due effect to this decree he resolved to annihilate the power of the guards, who had been the instruments, if not the originators, of every previous revolution. Their ascendancy arose from being always quartered in the capital, and from the spirit of combination, natural to a limited body invested with peculiar privileges. The emperor, who was a strict disciplinarian, struck at the root of the danger by incorporating with the guards several battalions on which he could rely, and promoting their officers above the others. The guardsmen, connected with the first families, were indignant at being associated with plebeians, and deprived of their costly uniform. Some venturing to throw up their commissions, were instantly banished from Petersburg, and excluded from all civil and military employ; the rest were obliged to swallow their resentment and submit.

The emperor next set himself to undo the policy of his predecessor in the east. He suspended the levies for the Persian war, and dispatched orders to Daghistan commanding the army to abandon their conquest and return to Russia. He released also the Polish prisoners, going in person to liberate Kosciusko. The patriot was offered a residence and an estate in Russia, but preferred to accept a sum of money in compensation for his losses, with which he conveyed himself to America.

Paul attempted, also, to restore the finances by suspending the issue of the adulterated coinage, and ordering extensive reductions in the expenditure of the court. The palaces of his mother were stripped and demolished, and the imperial residence was removed to Gatschina and Pavlofsky, where new buildings were raised more agreeable to his military notions. The

emperor delighted in posting sentinels and inspecting guards. He harassed his troops by incessant parades and false alarms, designed at once to gratify his taste for martial exercises, and to guard against a danger which was never absent from his thoughts. The fate of Peter III. being always before him, a rigid system of espionage was mixed with the etiquette of his court. His secret police were constantly employed in domiciliary visits, and the nearest members of his family could not escape his suspicions. The Grand Duke Alexander, whom he had learned to look upon as a rival during the late reign, never regained his confidence. He would burst out upon the empress herself with the exclamation : " You are preparing to play the part of a Catherine, but you will not find a Peter in me ! " This continual brooding over suspicions but too well founded in the history of his family, was enough to derange the balance of a narrow and ill-regulated mind.

In the midst of his presentiments the emperor indulged in the most ridiculous eccentricities. One of his freaks was to form a regiment, every soldier of which was to be distinguished by the *turned-up nose*, which disfigured his own ludicrous countenance. This regiment was honoured with his name ; and such is the respect for royalty in Russia, even in its extravagances, that the Pavlofsky guards are still preserved. The pug and turned-up noses of all the army are carefully collected into their ranks ; and to render their appearance still more singular and repulsive, their moustaches are brushed upwards to the ears.

It was under a ruler so inadequate to direct her course, that Russia was called to navigate the tide of European politics, into which, by incessant efforts, she

had now succeeded in pushing herself. Bonaparte had overrun Italy and dictated a peace at the gates of Vienna. Spain was under his power by treaty, and Prussia had retired from the struggle, leaving England alone to maintain the independence of Europe. The one point on which Paul agreed with his mother, was in hatred of revolutionary France. His pride, too, was hurt by the loss of Malta, which he had intended to purchase from the degenerate knights of St. John; but while he lost time in the details, another faction was in treaty with Bonaparte, and the island was surrendered to the French fleet.

A treaty of alliance with England was signed on the 18th December 1798, by which Paul agreed to send 45,000 Russians to act with the British army in Germany, receiving in return an immediate payment of 225,000*l.* and a monthly subsidy of 75,000*l.* Sixty thousand Russians were further promised to Austria, and Europe was astonished by the approach of an immense army, marching out of the frozen north, to oppose and beat back the victorious legions of France.

The Russian infantry had acquired a high reputation from their conduct in the battles of Pultowa and Ismail. Their cavalry had earned equal renown in the Turkish war, and the Kossacks excited especial admiration. Mounted on the small, spare, indefatigable horses of the steppe, providing their own arms and provisions, and receiving no pay, clouds of these robber warriors hovered round the Russian battalions, subsisting themselves by plunder, and marking their course by desolation. A long pike or lance was their efficient weapon, though sabre, pistols, and carbine were usually added. They could follow an enemy by the trail with the precision of bloodhounds, never lost their way in the

dreariest deserts, and seemed to come and go with the rapidity of the wind. Gifted with the individual intelligence which is part of the pastoral and savage character, yet subjected to a certain degree of military discipline, they were considered the best of light troops, and to a retreating army more formidable than the flower of the French guards.*

The Russian army was commanded by Suwarrow, the captor of Ismail, of whose indomitable courage and uncouth, eccentric habits many singular stories were related. He joined the Austrian forces in Italy (April 1799), bent on subduing the French, overturning all the new republics, and restoring everything to the condition in which it stood before the revolution.

The first victory was won on the Adda and followed by the occupation of Milan, where the Austrians were obliged to escort the French prisoners through the ranks of the ferocious Russians, who would otherwise have massacred them on the spot. From the capital of Lombardy the Russian general led his strange levies to the Alps, after enacting prodigies of valour in the sanguinary victory of the Trebbia, the spot where Hannibal defeated the Roman legions two thousand years before.

The idea prevailing in Europe that the Russian troops were undisciplined savages, was completely dissipated by this first campaign. Paul was so delighted with their renown, that he conferred the title of *Italyuski* on Suwarrow, in a ukase which declared him to be the greatest general of ancient or modern times. His triumph, however, received a terrible check the following year. A second army, despatched to the

Rhine under Korsakow, was almost totally annihilated in the battles of Zurich and Constance, and Suwarrow himself, after gallantly forcing the ascent of St. Gothard, was compelled, for the first time in his life, to retreat. After suffering further disasters in the gorges of the Alps, the veteran reached the plain with a mere fragment of his magnificent army, and returning broken-hearted to Petersburg, died in the arms of the grand dukes.

The emperor's disappointment was aggravated by the failure of the Duke of York's expedition to Holland, in which the Russians suffered considerable losses. Paul inveighed bitterly against both his allies, charging the Austrians with all the failures in Switzerland, and the English with the miscarriage in Holland. His violent and impulsive temper carried him over at once to the enemy. The conquest of Malta by the British was denounced as an infringement of the rights of the Order, of which he persisted in styling himself Grand Master. In revenge, an embargo was laid on the British shipping in Russian harbours, and the crews were flung into prison. His insane passion was adroitly fed by Bonaparte, who matured a maritime confederacy between Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and eventually Prussia, with the view of depriving England of her supremacy on the seas. This step was followed by a direct agreement between Russia and France for the overthrow of the British dominion in India. The plan was, that a French army should descend the Danube to the Euxine, where a Russian fleet would transport it to Taganrog. Thence it was to proceed by the Volga to Astrakhan, and being joined by the Russian and Kossack troops, the united forces were to cross the Caspian to Astrabad. From this place it was calculated that a march of fifty days

would suffice to bring the expedition to the banks of the Indus, by the way of Herat and Candahar.

Impracticable as such a scheme must appear to ourselves, it was judged perfectly feasible by Napoleon Bonaparte. The design, however, was never brought to the test of experiment. The English privateers conducted more than half the northern shipping into British harbours, and the interruption of their commerce proved so injurious to all classes in Russia, that a general discontent was aroused against the capricious and tyrannical proceedings of the emperor.

Paul was now unquestionably mad, and the empire was menaced with ruin both at home and abroad. Under despotic governments a change of administration is only to be effected by a change on the throne. Grievances which in England would create a cry for reform, lead in Russia to conspiracy and regicide. The moment came which the unhappy emperor had never ceased to forebode. Among his own favourites, and with the complicity of his own family, a plot was matured* to compel his abdication. The Grand Duke Alexander, whom his grandmother had educated to expect the crown, was designed to fill his place. Pahlen, the chief conspirator, overcame any reluctance by producing an order for the Grand Duke's arrest, which he had himself obtained from Paul. Several warnings were conveyed to the emperor, but by a strange fatality none of them were perused. He retired to rest in the palace of St. Michael (built, as he declared, under the personal direction of the archangel), and was awoke in the night by the well-known voice of an aide-de-camp, arrived to summon him to a fire in the city.* The emperor

* The Emperor of Russia is expected, by ancient custom, to attend at every fire which occurs in the capital.

opened the door with a string, but hearing a cry of "treason" from the Kossack on guard, he sprang from his bed, and concealed himself in a closet. From this place he was dragged by General Beningsen (said to be an Englishman in the Russian service), who presented the act of abdication for his signature. The emperor burst into furious reproaches, accompanied by blows. His equerry Nicholas returned the violence, and Paul, overpowered by numbers, fell to the ground. He was strangled with a sash passed round his neck, his last words being, "And you, too, my Constantine!"

The awful suspicion that his second son was among the assassins was met by an explanation that the dress of one of the conspirators occasioned the dying monarch to mistake him for the Grand Duke. It is certain that Alexander was in a room below, awaiting the result in great agitation. On learning that his father was dead, he tore his hair, and with the most passionate demonstrations of grief refused to accept the crown. The populace, however, had now assembled round the palace, full of joy at the death of Paul, and calling loudly for the new emperor. Pahlen appearing at the head of a deputation of nobles and magistrates, Alexander's scruples quickly vanished. An opponent arose for a moment in the person of his mother, who on being awakened with the news of her husband's death by apoplexy, divined the truth on the spot, and demanded the throne for herself, in right of her coronation. It was with great difficulty that she was brought to withdraw her claim, and swear allegiance to her son.

Alexander I. ascended the throne the 24th March 1801, and walked to his coronation, as it was afterwards remarked, amid the murderers of his grandfather, his father, and himself.

He had been carefully educated, under his grandmother's direction, for the duties of the high station for which she designed him, and his first proclamation announced his intention to govern on her extended policy. He despatched an autograph letter to the King of England, expressing a wish to restore amicable relations, and at the same time liberated the British sailors who had been perfidiously imprisoned by his father. These advances being reciprocated, a peace was concluded to the great indignation of France. The example was followed by the other maritime powers, and Bonaparte's memorable confederation being dissolved, he himself was fain to come to terms with England.

The agreement, however, was hollow and soon broken by the increasing ambition of France. The murder of the Duke d'Enghien, a Bourbon prince, whom Bonaparte kidnapped when residing in the electorate of Baden, and put to death in defiance of all international law, was indignantly protested against by Russia, supported by England and Sweden. Alexander further withdrew his ambassador from Rome, in resentment at the Pope's permitting a French emigrant to be arrested in the papal territories.

Napoleon, who had now assumed the imperial crown, retorted that Russia had one face for Europe and another for Asia: while affecting an air of magnanimity in the west, she was encroaching on Persia, and secretly plotting with the Greeks for the overthrow of Turkey. It was true that 10,000 Russian soldiers were placed in the Ionian isles, supported by a strong fleet at Corfu, that Sebastopol had been made a first-rate naval station and arsenal, and that large forces were assembled in the Polish territories. Still the eyes of Turkey were so little open to the designs of

Russia, that she actually assisted her against Persia, and even granted facilities for the passage of troops to the frontier.

In September 1804, Napoleon, anticipating the combination that was being formed against him by the rest of Europe, invaded Germany, and having routed the Austrian army, crossed the Danube before the Russians could arrive, and occupied Vienna. Alexander, hastening in person to the succour of his ally, shared his defeat at Austerlitz, and escaped rather than retired during the armistice that ensued. Prussia going over to the victor, accepted the electorate of Hanover in exchange for Anspach, Cleves, and Neufchatel, ceded to France. As Prussia was at this time at peace with England, Frederick wished to conceal his nefarious bargain; but Napoleon exacted its publication in a document dated April 1st 1806, wherein Hanover was described as "belonging to France in right of conquest." Soon after, at the instigation of Alexander, Prussia again changed sides, but the result was her entire subjugation, and the occupation of Berlin by the French. Russia also was defeated in a great battle at Pultusk, and Napoleon reigned paramount in Europe.*

In their distress the allied forces invited the co-operation of England; but menaced with invasion herself, and aggrieved by the conduct of Prussia, half a million of money was her only response. Alexander, who, after affecting the character of general pacificator, had become the chief fomenter of the war, was chagrined at the refusal of men and arms, and his displeasure was enhanced by the fall of Dantzic to the French. An ineffectual attempt by General Beningsen to retrieve these losses was

* He had crowned himself King of Italy, his brother Joseph of Naples, and Louis of Holland, while France was advanced to the Alps and the Rhine.

followed by the evacuation of Heilsberg, and the final rout of the Russians at Friedland. Further disasters entailed the loss of 60,000 Russians in ten days. The allies were driven back to the Niemen, and being hotly pursued by the French, Alexander proposed an armistice, which resulted in the peace of Tilsit.

A meeting was appointed between the two emperors on a raft in the middle of the stream, where the ambitious chiefs, who had been shedding torrents of innocent blood in the endeavour to destroy one another, embraced in the sight of thousands of spectators, who crowded the banks on either side. The monarchs vied with each other in frivolous and repulsive adulation. Alexander told Napoleon that a great man was the gift of the gods: the Frenchman pronounced the Russian the handsomest person he ever saw, and burst into applause at the excellence of his dancing. Such compliments form a frightful contrast to the slaughter and mutilation of thousands of human beings, effected on either side, as the preliminary to this imperial interview.

In spite of his dissimulation, Alexander could not but feel the humiliation inflicted on Russia and himself by the treaty of Tilsit. All the conquests and usurpations which he had so indignantly denounced were there confirmed and acknowledged under his own hand. The kings and potentates of Bonaparte's creation were recognised as legitimate sovereigns, while Alexander's own ally, Prussia, was given up to plunder between the contracting parties. Her share in the partition of Poland was transferred, under the name of the duchy of Warsaw, to the King of Saxony, who was virtually subject to Napoleon; and a large tract of Prussian territory was unblushingly appropriated by Alexander, on pretence of establishing a "natural boundary" between

Russia and the new duchy. Prussia now shared the fate which she had helped to inflict on Poland: she was reduced to the condition of a petty state, unable to offer any impediment to further depredations.

Napoleon insisted, at the same time, on a cessation of the hostilities which Alexander had commenced with the Ottoman Porte, and on the withdrawal of his troops from Moldavia, Wallachia, and Bessarabia. This stipulation was intended not only to prevent the growth of Russia, in a direction distasteful to France, but to make her available against another of the Czar's allies. The treaty contained a secret article against England, in pursuance of which Alexander, three months after, renounced his conventions with this country, and declared war upon Sweden, with a view of compelling her to contribute her fleet to the anti-Anglican combination.*

This treacherous policy only recoiled on those who contrived it. England, sustained by a gracious Providence, withstood all the efforts of the continental powers, while the measures taken to cripple her commerce affected Russia so severely, that all classes were filled with indignation against the French alliance, and clamoured for a change of policy. The emperor saw the necessity of yielding to the demands of his subjects; but the consequence was to draw down the immediate vengeance of Napoleon, who at once determined on extending to Moscow the humiliation which had been suffered in turn by the other capitals of continental Europe.

France had at this time a military force of her own

* In a subsequent proclamation, Napoleon expressly asserted that Russia bound herself at Tilsit to eternal alliance with France, and *war with the English*.

and her vassal states, amounting to nearly 1,200,000 men, while the entire resources of Alexander scarcely exceeded 500,000 troops. Napoleon sent into Russia an army exceeding 650,000 soldiers, with above 1300 guns, and nearly 200,000 horses: all that could be opposed were some 254,000 men, paid at the rate of a shilling a month, with a ration of rye bread.

The invasion commenced from the side of Poland, where the wrongs inflicted by Russia had raised up a righteous hostility, which, under the direction of a more generous ally, might have severely avenged the partition. Napoleon, however, only eager to subdue, saw no advantage to himself in restoring the fortunes of the Poles, and hastened on with characteristic confidence to dictate his own terms in the city of Moscow.

The Russian general adopted the traditional policy of retiring as the French advanced, in order to entangle them in the difficulties of the country. Thousands of horses and ammunition waggons, with above 100 guns, were thus lost to the French before they had a chance of encountering their enemy. Three days' combat at the end of July cost them 8000 killed, wounded, and taken prisoners; while many thousand stragglers, wandering in search of provisions, fell by the knives and clubs of the peasantry provoked by their excesses. Smolensk was obtained only by the sacrifice of 12,000 troops; the subsequent action of Loubino cost 6000 more; and then the road to Moscow lay over a desolated country, and through a furious, relentless population.

The national spirit had now become impatient of retreat, and the nobles demanded of the Czar the appointment of one of their own order to vindicate the common cause in a general engagement. Kutusoff succeeded Barclay as commander-in-chief, and a great

battle took place on the banks of the Borodino. The French brought 140,000 men into the fight, supported by 1000 guns, while the Russians could oppose but 107,000 and 640 guns. The collision was terrific, and the confusion indescribable; every individual was animated by the fiercest excitements of hatred and revenge; each sought but to slay an adversary, regardless of his own life. Forty thousand fell on each side, without an inch of ground being either gained or lost. Kutusoff then resuming his predecessor's policy, retreated upon Moscow.

The French followed in a state of frightful destitution and distress, living on horseflesh, pressing over roads encumbered with the wounded and dying, and exasperated at finding the towns and villages by the way deserted and provisionless. Arriving before the walls on the 14th September, they saw the gates open and undefended. Napoleon halted for a while, expecting the magistrates to come out and implore clemency for the people; but no one appearing, he entered the city, and was astonished at the solitude that reigned on every side. The whole population had followed the evacuating army, and with so little disorder, that not a wheel remained to mark the direction they had taken! The invader found himself in the Kremlin; but there was no one to sue for, or to receive, his conditions of peace.

The troops, who had counted on a rich recompense for their sufferings in the sack of the city, were astounded at the slenderness of their prize. All the moveable wealth of the place, to the value of many millions, had been transported to the Trinity Lavra, where the Russian still believe it was protected by St. Sergius. Happily the French had no knowledge of the convent nor of the treasures it contained; or as-

surely no respect for its supernatural guardian would have preserved his charge from their grasp.

When night came on, new proofs of the determination of the natives appeared in the numerous fires, which broke out at various parts. They were viewed as accidental at first; but when the flames spread, and neither engines, carts, nor even water-buckets could be found, it became evident that enough of the inhabitants had remained behind to mar the triumph, by the destruction of their holy and beloved mother, the white-stoned Moscow. As fast as the efforts of the French extinguished the conflagration in one part, it was re-kindled in another, till, after a struggle of five days, Napoleon was obliged to abandon his conquest to the flames, blowing up the Kremlin, as he left, in a spirit of ignoble resentment.

This desperate sacrifice was planned by the Russian governor Rostopchin, who bitterly complained that Kutusoff had not allowed him the opportunity of completing it before the sacred city was contaminated by the foot of a Frenchman. His orders were so faithfully executed, that of 40,000 houses in stone only 200 escaped; of 8000 in wood, but 500; while of the 1600 churches which hallowed the city, 600 were consumed, and all the rest more or less damaged. Rostopchin himself retired to a country palace which he had ornamented for eight years with numberless productions of art and luxury. On the approach of the French picquets, his villagers, in number above 1700, evacuated their homes and moved off for an estate which he possessed in Siberia, far from French domination. The inflexible governor fired the mansion with his own hands, leaving to the invaders only a heap of ashes and a notice on the church doors breathing hatred and defiance.

Napoleon was now obliged to retrace his steps to Smolensk, by a road already laid waste both by his own troops and the native inhabitants. The destitution was excessive, but a still more fearful cause of suffering was to follow. On the 5th November it began to snow; the next day a cutting wind hardened the falling element till it sparkled like diamonds, and the air was filled with a continual ringing sound. Afflicted with hunger, sickness, and wounds, the French were little prepared for this new enemy. They fought with each other for food, and tore away the clothing from the wretches who fell unable to proceed. Every day's delay was a new calamity. The cold killed the horses and dismounted the cavalry, while the Russian army reappearing in the rear, became in turn the pursuers. The famine was so intense that the French ate the remains of their comrades. The keen wind penetrated skin, muscle, and bone, to the very marrow, rendering the flesh as white as alabaster and the limb almost as fragile. Sometimes a stroke as of lightning benumbed the whole body, and then the feet and hands would snap off at the joints without pain. The rivers were choked with frozen corpses. The road was strewn with guns and the bodies of men and animals. Thousands of wretches still living were stripped by the pursuing army, and marched in columns, or turned loose to the merciless peasantry, who gloried in being the instruments of the "avenging God of Russia." It was to little purpose that the Czar offered a reward for every prisoner delivered alive to the authorities. It was said that higher offers were made by the wealthy Russians for their destruction. The very women glutted their vengeance in horrible tortures of the helpless: it was thought a sin against their country to shorten an

invader's sufferings by a speedy death. The Grand Duke Constantine, who served on the staff, actually slew a French officer with his own hand, and justified the atrocity to the British Commissioner as an act of humanity.

By the middle of November when Napoleon approached the Beresina, his magnificent host of 650,000 men was reduced to considerably less than half that number. On the 2nd December it could muster but 7000 infantry and 2000 cavalry under arms. These were deserted by their heartless leader, who hurried on to ensure his own safety at Paris. A few days later, the poor remnant of 4500 sought refuge in Wilna; but the Kossacks were upon them with their horrible shout, and they were obliged to fly. At last 400 infantry, 600 cavalry, and 9 guns crossed the Meinen on the 14th December; the sole remains of the grand army that entered Russia scarcely six months before as the conquerors of the world. The destruction might have been even more complete, and Napoleon himself have remained a prisoner in the hands of the Russians, had not their commander deliberately allowed him to escape, in order that England might not lose her most implacable enemy.*

It was the most frightful disaster that ever befell an army, and the most signal disgrace that could overtake a commander. With this expedition fell the French empire, and in a few years the fugitive from Russia was a prisoner in Elba. His escape the next year, with the brief glory of his second reign, afforded Russia the opportunity of a still more signal vengeance. In June

* This malevolent object was avowed by Kutusoff to the British Commissioner, Sir Robert Wilson, from whose graphic narrative these particulars are taken.

1815, the Emperor Alexander entered Paris as one of the allied powers who, by the Divine favour, had de-throned the restless disturber of Europe. A peace of forty-five years was ensured to civilization by the humane sentence which consigned the author of so many calamities to a perpetual but comfortable exile.

The long calm which followed the tempest in Europe was employed to the aggrandizement of Russia in the east. Alexander, on his accession to the throne, instituted an inquiry into the state of Georgia, and its capability of defending itself against Turkey and Persia, as a protected state. The result was an imperial ukase, abolishing the separate government, and incorporating Georgia with the Russian empire.* The change was declared to be entirely for the advantage of the natives, and quite unconnected with a desire for Russian aggrandizement. It was secured, however, by strong garrisons planted on the frontiers, and these forces immediately occupying Mingrelia, proceeded to make encroachments on Persia. These insidious measures were facilitated by the free navigation of the Phasis, granted by the Ottoman Porte, which had either not discovered the danger to itself of every Russian step in advance, or deemed it the safest course to propitiate a power too great to be resisted.

A few years after, Turkey was driven into a declaration of war, from the disastrous consequences of which she was relieved by the peace of Tilsit. Hostilities re-commenced in 1808, and were only concluded by the necessity imposed upon Russia of concentrating her forces against the French invasion. The war proved

* An imperial ukase to the same effect had been issued in the last year of Paul's life, but its execution seems to have been delayed from the resistance of the protected sovereign.

disadvantageous to Turkey in every particular; and the treaty of Bucharest, by which it was ended, deprived her of Bessarabia, advanced the Russian frontier to the Pruth, yielded the navigation of the Danube, and exacted an amnesty to the Servians, who had taken part against the Porte. Russia, on the other hand, agreed to surrender Anapa, with some other fortified places which she had captured on the Black Sea; but the stipulation was not fulfilled, and the disagreement occasioned by this act of bad faith led to a renewal of the contest.

With Persia Russia had been more or less at enmity ever since the occupation of Georgia and the consequent aggressions of its garrison on the adjoining provinces. The Shah had applied for and obtained an alliance with the French, which might have changed the aspect of the war; but the English government, alarmed for its possessions in India, entered into negotiations which resulted in the overthrow of French influence, and an alliance between the crowns of Great Britain and Persia. The former immediately used its influence to recommend peace with the Czar, who was then engaged, in alliance with itself, in defending the liberties of Europe. Alexander preferred to employ the formal mediation of Turkey, as stipulated in the treaty of Bucharest; but the good offices of the British envoy were privately exerted with the Shah, and the result was a treaty, signed at Gulistan in 1814, by which Persia confirmed to Russia all her conquests to the south of the Caucasus, and further engaged to maintain no ships of war on the Caspian. Russia thus acquired an undisputed title to Georgia, Immeritia, Mingrelia, Derbend, Badkoo, with all Persian Daghistān, Sheerwan, Shekee, Ganja, Karabaugh, and parts of Moghan and

Talish. The two last-mentioned districts the Russian plenipotentiary promised to restore, and the British minister having recommended the acceptance of his pledge, its fulfilment was urged with the whole weight of England, at the court of Petersburg. With that duplicity, however, which forms the normal character of Russian diplomacy, the Czar evaded, and finally refused, the promised evacuation.

Of the states thus acquired, the three first named were inhabited chiefly by Christians of the Georgian and Armenian churches. Karabaugh was partly Christian and partly Mohammedan, and all the rest were Mohammedan. The Russian government, essentially the most bigoted in the world, soon obliged the Mussulman chiefs to seek a shelter in Persia, and further plunged into perpetual hostility with the wild tribes of the mountains. New differences arose, too, with Persia on the question of settling the frontiers, and the relations of the two countries continued to be those of war rather than peace.

Turkey, notwithstanding all her sacrifices, still experienced the disquieting influences of her unappeasable neighbour. The Ionian islands having been removed from the sphere of intrigue, by their transfer to the protection of Great Britain, the Russian agents fomented rebellions in the other Christian provinces subject to the Porte. Having thus excited Greece to revolt, Russia was the first to offer her aid in its suppression, and the Sultan's refusal was resented by a suspension of diplomatic intercourse, which would doubtless have ripened into a war, had not the powers of Europe, at the congress of Verona, upheld the right of the Porte to exclude all foreign intervention with its subjects, whether Christian or Mohammedan. This decision would

hardly have arrested the machinations of Russia, had not a pause been imposed by the sudden vacancy of her throne.

At the congress of Vienna, some disposition had been made to restore a portion of its former independence to Poland. It was no more than might fairly have been required of its oppressors. France was debarred of all her unjust conquests. England consented to restore colonies fairly taken in war, yielding up valuable prizes without compensation, and, in some respects, with too little consideration for herself or others.

Russia alone disgorged nothing. Her conquests, from Sweden, Turkey, Persia, were all retained and confirmed. She might well have been required to concur in reuniting the fragments of the Polish kingdom, and the more so as her generosity would interpose a valuable barrier against a second invasion of her own territory.

To a suggestion to this effect, however, it was replied, that a million of bayonets were ready to maintain the existing partition, and Europe was in no condition to contend against their logic. The recently restored Duchy of Warsaw was divided between Russia and Prussia; and Cracow being constituted an independent republic, the remainder of the Polish territory, reduced to four millions of subjects, was placed under the Russian emperor, with a representative constitution, a national army, and a guarantee for the national language and laws. Alexander opened the diet of the new kingdom with a speech in which he said, "that in reducing to practice the liberal institutions which had never ceased to be the objects of his solicitude, and which he hoped, with God's help, to extend to all the countries under his rule, he was furnished with the

means of showing 'his own country that which he had long desired for her, and which she would not fail to obtain, as soon as the elements of so important a work had attained the requisite development." These words spreading far and wide produced a hope that the other Polish provinces would be reunited to the kingdom, and share the liberties so gracefully and so wisely inaugurated. The expectation was disappointed, and it soon appeared that a liberal constitution under a Russian autocrat was an anomaly that could not be maintained.

On the downfall of Napoleon, Alexander, in spite of his pretended liberality, became the head of a "Holy Alliance" between Russia, Austria, Prussia, and France, designed for the suppression of revolutionary principles.*

* This famous alliance was propounded to the world as being based on the teaching of Holy Scripture, that all men are brethren, and designed to inculcate the principles of Christianity. If such had been its genuine character, England would not have been the only power to reject its insidious proposals, nor would they have been so cordially hailed by all the tyrants in Europe. It will be seen, however, from the articles which we subjoin, that the only persons supposed to be recognised in Scripture as brethren are *sovereign princes*; all the rest of mankind seem made, like the lower creatures, to be under their dominion, and the sole law proposed to be enforced as Divine, is obedience to the prince. The "Christianity" of these articles is limited to the exclusion of the Pope and the Grand Signor from the brotherhood of sovereign misdoers. The Pope was objectionable to the religious pretensions of Alexander as head of his own so-called Catholic church, and the Turk is the standing object of Russian spoliation,—otherwise both those sovereigns might have claimed to be excellent "Christians" on the theory of this "Holy Alliance." The original articles were as follows:—

"ARTICLE I.—Conformably to the words of the Holy Scriptures, which command all men to consider themselves as brethren, the three contracting monarchs will remain united by the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity, and, considering each other as fellow-countrymen, they will, on all occasions and in all places, lend each other aid and assistance; and, regarding themselves towards their subjects and armies as fathers of families, they will lead them in the same spirit of fraternity with which they are animated, to protect religion, peace, and justice.

"ARTICLE II.—In consequence, the sole principle in force, whether between the said governments or between their subjects, shall be that of doing each other reciprocal service, and of testifying by unalterable good will the mutual affection with which they ought to be animated, to consider each other as all

The Russian officers, on the other hand, had brought home new ideas from the more enlightened countries of Europe, and the young nobility began to thirst for an improved political constitution. Societies were formed for the spread of liberal ideas, and the emperor, still undecided or deceitful, continued to receive projects of reform from their hands. About the year 1820, however, Alexander having succumbed to the influence of Prince Metternich, became entirely weaned from his early professions. The societies then dissolved or retreated into secrecy, and a spirit of disaffection began to extend itself. The liberals of Petersburg and Moscow formed a secret association called the *Society of the North*, the object of which was simply a constitutional monarchy. A *Society of the South* pronounced further

members of one and the same Christian nation; the three allied princes looking on themselves as merely delegated by Providence to govern three branches of one family, namely, Austria, Russia, and Prussia: thus confessing that the Christian world, of which they and their people form a part, has, in reality no other sovereign than Him to whom alone power really belongs, because in Him alone are found all the treasures of love, knowledge, and infinite wisdom,—that is to say, God, our Divine Saviour, the Word of the Most High, the Word of Life. Their magistrates consequently recommend to their people, with the most tender solicitude, as the sole means of enjoying that peace which arises from a good conscience, and which alone is durable, to strengthen themselves every day more and more in the principles and exercises of the duties which the Divine Saviour has taught to mankind.

“ARTICLE III. — All the powers who shall choose solemnly to avow the sacred principle which have dictated the present act, and shall acknowledge how important it is for the happiness of nations, too long agitated, that these truths should henceforth exercise over the destinies of mankind all the influence which belongs to them, will be received with equal ardour and affection into this Holy Alliance.

“Done in triplicate, and signed at Paris, the year of grace 1815, 26th of September.

“FRANZ FREDERIC FRANCIS WILLIAM.

“FRIEDRICH WILHELM.

“ALEXANDER.”

These articles being communicated to the other sovereigns of Europe, were eagerly embraced by Ferdinand of Spain, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the King of Naples, the Duke of Parma, and many others, who have subsequently either lost their thrones or been indebted to “revolutionary” aid for their retention. Great Britain was the only power that rejected the alliance.

for the emancipation of the serfs; and a third at Kief, under the appellation of *United Slavonians*, agitated for a federative republic of the Slave nations. Alexander was aware of these conspiracies, and doubting the ability of his next brother, Constantine, to control the agitated empire, privately induced him to renounce the succession*, and made a will bequeathing the crown to their younger brother, Nicolas, a man of no particular talent (save for the art of music), but gifted with a majestic person, an indomitable will, and a passion for business only excelled by his devotion to the principles of arbitrary government. Affairs were in this posture when Alexander, having set out on one of his tours of inspection, died at Taganrog in December 1825. His death was sudden and suspicious; and the history of the Russian court, with the political circumstances of the time, justified the rumour which flew through Europe, that the retribution of his father's fate had overtaken himself.

Nicolas being at Petersburg immediately took the oath of allegiance to Constantine, then in Warsaw as viceroy of Poland, and it was not till he was assured of the latter having paid the same homage to himself that he consented to ascend the throne. The delay encouraged the liberal party to attempt a revolution, and their efforts were seconded, from the opposite extreme, by the old Russians attached to Constantine and the cause of legitimacy. When the new emperor was proclaimed, a cry was raised among the soldiers, already sworn to Constantine, that the latter was in confinement, and his brother a usurper. The liberals at the same time repaired to the front of the senate house and en-

* This paper is said to have been required of Constantine on the occasion of his marriage with the daughter of a Polish gentleman.

deavoured to proclaim a provisional government. The populace sympathizing with the troops, the incongruous cry of "Constantine and the constitution" swept through the streets, and the palace was menaced with violence.

Nicolas and his consort were in the private chapel on their knees before the altar, where they swore to live or die as sovereigns. "What gave me power," the emperor afterwards said, "was that I had resigned myself to meet death." Coming forth with a calm, pale countenance, he placed himself at the head of his guards, and rode to meet the rebels. "Return to your ranks!" he shouted with a voice of thunder, and the command being mechanically obeyed, he added, "On your knees!" His intrepid self-possession, and the religious awe in which Russians are nurtured towards the sovereign, prevailed. The soldiers fell on their knees, grounded their arms, and the emperor was safe. He failed not to take a signal vengeance on his opponents. The streets were swept by his cannon, which, as his cousin the Prince of Wurtemberg remarked to him, acknowledge no compatriots; and Nicolas entered on his government with the avowed determination of trampling down every vestige of political liberty. Never, even in Asia, was there a more resolute champion of arbitrary power. "I can understand a republic," he said to the Marquis de Custine, "but I cannot understand a constitution. It is a government of fraud and corruption: rather than adopt it, I would fall back to the borders of China. Despotism is the very essence of my rule, and it suits the genius of the land."

How far the last observation is true may possibly remain to be seen; but there can be no question that

in these words the emperor justly characterized his own policy, and his reign was unrelentingly devoted to its assertion. Uniting with his chivalrous bravery a barbarous disregard of human life and suffering, he punished the friends of freedom in Russia with a cruelty only exceeded by his predecessors, Peter and Ivan, while the few remaining privileges of Poland were sentenced to immediate extinction.

The Grand Duke Constantine, who was continued in the vice-royalty, governed in true Muscovite spirit. The universities, as the depositaries of the national education guaranteed at Vienna, were especial objects of his dislike. Some of the most ardent students were seized and sent to serve as common soldiers, or condemned to the mines of Siberia. The secret police easily contrived to goad the nation to insurrection; and in November 1830, an explosion took place. The national army pronounced for the national cause. A provisional government was formed in the name of the emperor; and Constantine, resigning his office as vice-roy and commander-in-chief into its hands, was permitted to retire with the Russian troops.

This act of generosity was shamefully requited. Nicolas treating every representation with scorn, insisted on immediate and unconditional submission. The provisional government, in despair, declared the throne of Poland vacant, and engaged in a vigorous struggle for liberty. Their cause was hopeless from the commencement. The Poles had but 50,000 troops and 136 guns, while the Russians crossed their frontier with 130,000 men and 396 cannon. In spite of this disparity, victory declared at first on the side of freedom. The Poles enacted prodigies of valour, and an insurrection in Lithuania sustained their hopes for a while, but num-

bers prevailed in the end. Prussia lent a covert assistance to her fellow-depredator. The Poles fell into disorder; the government resigned in confusion, and the struggle terminated with the surrender of Warsaw, on September 8th 1831, and the dispersion of the national forces. Nicolas used his victory in the true spirit of a Russian despot. The champions of their country's liberties were treated like felons and murderers. Members of the first Polish families were sent in irons to the mines of Siberia. The national organization was abolished, the universities were suppressed, the public libraries and museums were transported to Petersburg; and Poland yielded up her last breath, to be absorbed and annihilated in the Russian autocracy.

While extinguishing the hopes of liberty in Poland, Nicolas was affecting the opposite character in another quarter, as the champion of Greece against Turkey. His object was not the creation of political franchises, which he detested, but the further weakening of a power persistently marked out for Russian aggression. The sympathies of Europe were easily enlisted on behalf of a Christian and classical people, struggling under a Mohammedan and barbarous domination. In a case so exceptional, the civilized powers found it impossible to adhere to the ordinary maxims of international policy. To prevent Russia from monopolizing the interference to her own advantage, the governments of England and France, invited her to join with themselves in a friendly mediation with the Sultan. The latter, however, obstinately refused to admit their intervention; and the three powers concluded a treaty at London, July 6th 1827, engaging to enforce an accommodation in order to restore the freedom of the Mediterranean commerce. By the arrangement proposed, the Sultan was to retain

the sovereignty of Greece, with an annual tribute; but the Porte persisting in its refusal to come to terms, the Ottoman navy was annihilated in an engagement with the fleets of the three powers at Navarino, and their ambassadors withdrew from Constantinople in December 1827.

Russia hastened to improve the rupture to her own purposes. The long difference with Persia was terminated by a treaty, signed at Turcomanchai (February 1828), by which the river Araxes became the boundary between the two empires. Russia obtained the wealthy provinces of Erivan and Nukhchivan, without resigning Talish or Moghan, though on the Persian side of the river; she exacted, further, an enormous sum by way of indemnity.

This contest being concluded; and two millions sterling paid down of the indemnity, a pretext was easily found for a declaration of war against Turkey. A sharp and successful campaign was followed by another treaty, signed at Adrianople, under which Russia acquired Anapa, Poty, and a long line of coast on the Black Sea, with some important advantages on the Danube. The Czar effected also the removal of several thousand families of Armenians from the Turkish provinces in Asia, to populate his own acquisitions, and insisted on a large pecuniary indemnity, in pledge of which Moldavia, Wallachia, and Silistria were retained in Russian occupation.

The treaty of Adrianople imposed on Turkey the acceptance of the arrangement proposed by the three powers on behalf of Greece; notwithstanding which Russia never ceased her exertions till she had procured the entire separation of that country, and its erection into a monarchy subservient to her own designs.

Soon after, the rebellion of the viceroy of Egypt enabled the Czar to appear in the light of a friend instead of an enemy, but with no less advantage to himself. England and France being obliged to withhold assistance on account of the weakness of their naval establishments, Nicolas eagerly seized the opportunity to introduce a Russian fleet into the Bosphorus, for the first time since the expedition of Oleg. As the price of this assistance, a new treaty was signed at Unkiar Skellessi, by which Russia and Turkey were engaged to a mutual alliance, and the power exercised by the Sultan of closing the Bosphorus against vessels of war was brought under the influence of his ally. The latter provision, so offensive to the rest of Europe, was immediately protested against by England and France, and the treaty was eventually superseded by a convention concluded at London, July 15th 1840, in which Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia mutually agreed to protect the independence of the Ottoman empire, and to respect the ancient rule that no ship of war should enter the Bosphorus except on the Sultan's request, and during his pleasure. The provisions of this treaty were carried out by a British naval force, and the viceroy was reduced to his allegiance in a few weeks.

France had declined to join in this arrangement partly from dislike to Russia, and partly from a sympathy with the insurgent Pacha; but on the defeat of his aspirations she acceded to a new treaty to the same effect, which was signed at London the following year (July 13th 1841).

The long-continued encroachments of Russia upon Turkey had now awakened a general jealousy for the balance of power in Europe. Her extension in the direction of Persia was felt to affect in a peculiar degree

the safety of the British empire in India. The friendly offices of Great Britain, in promoting an advantageous reconciliation with Persia, had been requited by supplanting her influence with the Shah, and insidiously exciting him to extend his dominion in the direction of India. These intrigues took little effect so long as the British Mission at Tehran was superintended from Calcutta; but after its transfer to the Foreign Office in London, the Russian influence perceptibly increased, and in January 1836 the British envoy wrote to his court, that its policy "must be no longer to consider Persia an outwork for the defence of India, but as the first parallel from which an attack may be commenced."

In 1836 the Shah under the influence of Russia marched upon Herat, in defiance of the earnest remonstrances of the British envoy, and having captured the town annexed the whole province to his dominions. The fear of hostilities with England compelled him the next year to relinquish his conquest; but in the meantime an agent had appeared at Kandahar and Kabul, bearing a letter from the Emperor Nicolas, ostensibly for the encouragement of commerce, but accompanied by secret instructions to persuade the Afghan chiefs to break with the British, and ally themselves with the designs of the Shah. The success of these intrigues would have established the power of Russia, under the name of Persia, on the very banks of the Indus, and so menaced the whole interior of India.

To avoid this danger, the British government, abandoning the pacific policy previously pursued towards the Afghan chiefs, espoused the cause of the exiled Shah Soojah, in the hope of interposing a friendly power between its Indian frontier and Persia. This design, which at first was attended with success, failed through

the hopes which the Russian agents had infused into the Afghan leaders; and the failure was attended by the destruction of the whole expedition, the greatest blow ever inflicted on the British arms in the east. The conduct of Persia was so resented by Great Britain that all confidence ceased between the two powers, and actual war ensued.

The court of Petersburg, when remonstrated with on these intrigues, disclaimed all complicity, and repudiated the agents: but the letter addressed by the emperor himself to Dost Mohammed, the Khan of Kabul, has since been printed with another from Count Simovich, the Russian ambassador at Tehran.* These documents were presented at Kabul in December 1837, while the Shah was making a first ineffectual expedition against Herat; and the bearer of them, designated as Captain Vicovich, stated that the principal object of his mission was to offer the assistance of the Russian emperor against Runjeet Singh, the ally of the British, and to warn the Afghans against connecting themselves with the latter power. These intrigues were certainly pursued under the direction of the Russian ambassador in Persia, by a person armed with credentials from the emperor in person, and supplied with considerable sums of money. That they were disavowed when discovered only proves the duplicity of the Russian government, whose diplomacy is of an entirely Asiatic character, and little entitled to reliance, either in its promises or its disclaimers.

In 1853 Europe was again roused by a renewal of

* *Papers published by the House of Commons, the 8th June 1859.* These papers disclose the Russian machinations in detail; revealing the personal complicity of the Emperor Nicolas, which, on the first publication of the document, was suppressed from reasons of courtesy or diplomacy.

attempts upon Turkey, under the old pretext of defending the religious liberties of the Greek church. The Czar claimed a right of protection within the dominions of his Mohammedan neighbour, grounded on ancient usage, recognised and confirmed by the treaty of Kainardji. The Porte, on the other hand, maintained that the rights of its Christian subjects were under the exclusive protection of the Sultan, as is the privilege of every other sovereign. This duty, expressly undertaken by Mohammed I. on the conquest of Constantinople, was never delegated to any foreign power. The Christian subjects of Turkey belong to the Greek church, not the Russian, which is considered schismatical by the orthodox patriarch of Constantinople, and the latter is regularly invested by the Sultan with all the forms and ceremonies used by the Byzantine emperors. These considerations clearly refuted the claims advanced by Russia *ab antiquo*, while the treaty of Kainardji conferred no other privilege than that of erecting a church of her own rite in a suburb of Constantinople; to this alone the protection of the Czar could be pretended. The Sultan did, indeed, promise in that treaty to protect the Christian religion and the churches belonging to it; but this engagement was to be carried out by his own independent action; it did not entitle Russia to remonstrate, though to any friendly representation the Porte expressed itself willing to give effectual consideration. Notwithstanding the justice of this reply, Russia had never ceased to foment disturbances in the Danubian provinces of Turkey, under colour of this pretended right of protection. She even availed herself of the religious liberty conceded by the Sultan, to found schools among his Slavonian subjects where the Russian cate-

chism was taught, which enjoins obedience to the Czar as a divine commandment, and implies the authority of the Sultan to be inconsistent with Christianity.

In pursuance of the same sinister policy a mission was despatched from the court of Petersburg to Constantinople in March 1853, founded on some concessions demanded and obtained by France on behalf of the Roman Catholics at Jerusalem. The Czar, in his self-assumed capacity of protector of the Greek church, insisted on equal privileges in respect of the "holy places" for Christians of that persuasion, and the demand was readily conceded by the Porte. This compliance, however, was far from satisfying the Russian plenipotentiary. Prince Menschikoff haughtily insisted on a personal interview with the Sultan, asserting that his ministers were deceiving him, and ended by demanding a new treaty, securing to Russia the protection which she claimed over the Christian subjects of the Porte. This was of course rejected; and the Czar, who had foreseen the result, invaded the Danubian provinces, and prosecuted his claims by the sword.

The final extinction of the Turkish empire was clearly the object in view. Next to the maintenance of despotism, the ruling passion of Nicolas was for the acquisition of Constantinople as the capital of the Russian empire. Both were in his eyes the ordinance of Providence. In a conversation with the British ambassador, he described the Ottoman government as "a sick man" beyond the power of recovery, and proposed to make arrangements for the partition of the inheritance. Such pretensions were felt by the other powers of Europe to be incompatible with the general safety; and the self-confidence of the Czar rendering him deaf to remonstrance, war was at last declared

against Russia, in the interest of Turkey, by Great Britain, France, and Austria, aided by Sardinia and the general sympathies of Europe.*

Russia withstood this formidable combination with astonishing power and resources. Troops were marched from every quarter of the empire to the Crimea, which the Western Powers selected for their point of attack, and the utmost enthusiasm was displayed by the population in the defence of the "holy land of Russia." The allies, having landed at Eupatoria, defeated the Russian forces in a great battle on the river Alma on the 20th September 1854, and while the survivors retired under Menschikoff to the interior, succeeded by a rapid flank movement in reaching the southern point of Sebastopol. The port of Balaclava being seized at the same time by the naval forces, the expedition commenced that great siege, in recounting which the future historian will be in doubt whether to admire most the courage and endurance of the assailants, or the skill and determination of the defenders, who repaired their earthworks as rapidly as they were destroyed, and even constructed new defences on the open ground in the very face of the enemy.

The struggle, however, was obviously too unequal to be long protracted. The consumption of men and cattle caused a fearful drain on the interior of the empire. A regiment which left Moscow a thousand strong marched into Sebastopol with only eleven men. Trade and private fortunes in Russia were shaken to their foundation, and the finances fell into such disorder that the government credit was seriously affected in the money markets of Europe.

* Prussia alone of the Great Powers stood neutral, but Austria was a very reluctant ally.

The harass attendant on these disasters, aggravated by the death of his daughter and the alarming illness of a beloved wife, proved fatal to the original author of the hostilities. Borne down by the heavy weight of despotism, which provides neither counsel nor partnership in its awful responsibilities, the gigantic frame of Nicolas yielded to the combined efforts of disease and anxiety. He expired on the 18th February (2nd March) 1855, consoled by the religious ministrations to which he was always attentive, and amid the tears of a tenderly attached family. When the empress at his request repeated the Lord's Prayer, the words "Thy will be done" elicited from the dying monarch a fervent response of "Yes, always, everywhere." To his eldest son, whom his mother brought to his bedside that he might "see how an emperor of Russia ought to die," he expressed but one regret, that he left him the empire under circumstances so distressing.

These expressions have been repeated by the friends of Nicolas as demonstrative of the loss sustained by his removal; there is no reason to question their sincerity, nor the many estimable qualities of the departed emperor. All that they prove, however, is his own faith in the principles which he enforced. The Czar was sincerely convinced that mankind could not be better than under his absolute and paternal government. This conviction is probably shared by the vast majority of the Russian population, in whose eyes, as in his own, it assumes the character of a religious belief. But the lust of empire is not less dangerous or degrading to mankind from being founded on mistaken views of religion. Men are not to surrender their convictions and responsibilities into the hand of a despot, merely because he is satisfied that he can rule his fellow-creatures bet-

ter than they can rule themselves. A Russian autocrat may persuade his legions that Christianity and civilization are concerned in making Constantinople, as they express it, once more the "city of the Czar;" but the impartial spectator who compares the liberty of conscience enjoyed in Russia with that which the toleration, the fears, or the indolence of the Ottoman Porte permit to Christians in Turkey, may well doubt the wisdom or the humanity of replacing its weak and impressible government by the absolute, remorseless will of the Russian autocrat.

The rights and policy of government seem to have been better comprehended by the present emperor, Alexander II. His first act was to proclaim an amnesty to the unfortunate exiles whom his father had consigned to the mines, for the offence of "not loving the emperor." He announced, at the same time, his resolution to complete the efforts of previous reigns, for the entire emancipation of the serfs. After laying these foundations of internal tranquillity, he gave himself frankly, and without in the least impairing the honour of his crown, to promote a pacification with offended Europe. The scene was, indeed, drawing to a close before Sebastopol. After incredible sufferings, the English troops had pushed their trenches within four hundred yards of the great Redan, while the French had gained the more manageable distance of one hundred and eighty yards from the key of the whole position, the Malakoff tower. The combined assault took place on the 8th September 1855, and was completely successful, though the distance they had to pass, and the heavy fire opposed to them, caused a severe loss and a temporary repulse to the English. The Russian commander (Gortschakoff), seeing the Malakoff in the hands of the

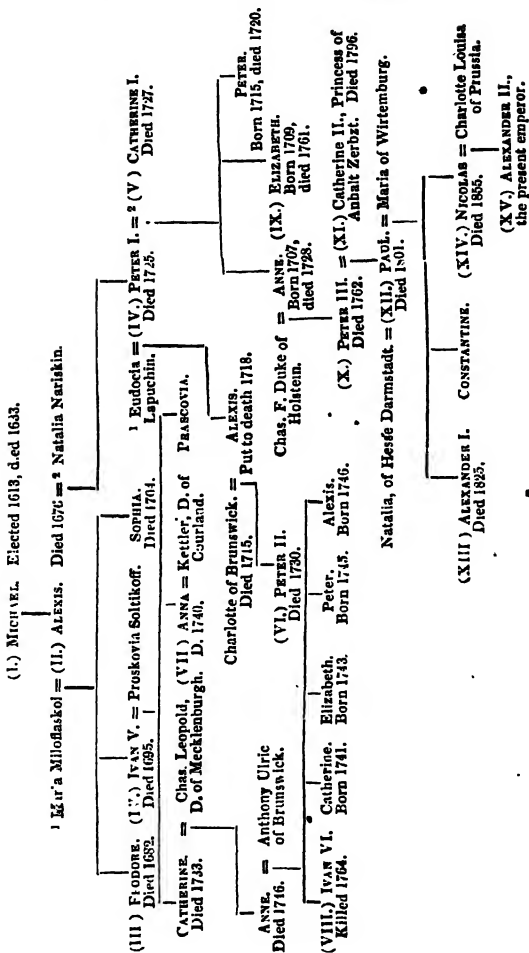
French, fired the town, exploded his magazines, and retired across the harbour to the northern forts, sinking the men-of-war to impede the navigation and secure his retreat. The ruined town was occupied by the allies, and the harbours, docks, and fortresses, constructed at enormous cost for the mastery of the Black Sea, were destroyed.

There was a strong desire to inflict a still deeper humiliation upon Russia, and to avenge the sufferings of the allied armies by military successes which were now clearly within their grasp. But a more generous policy prevailed. The Western Powers appreciated the position and sentiments of the new emperor, and a treaty of peace was signed at Paris on the 30th March 1856, the belligerents inviting the concurrence of Prussia as an arrangement for the peace of Europe. By this convention, the conquests made on either side were restored. The Porte was admitted into the political system of Europe, and all the Powers mutually pledged themselves to respect its independence and integrity, while the Sultan engaged of his own authority to grant liberty of conscience to Christians of all communions within his territories. The Black Sea was neutralized, Russia and Turkey being both bound not to maintain any military or maritime arsenals on its coasts. The Danube also was liberated from control; and to secure this condition a portion of the adjoining territory was ceded by Russia to Moldavia, this principality, together with that of Wallachia, remaining under the suzerainty of the Porte.

The ostensible object of Nicolas in commencing hostilities being the protection of the Greek Christians, the emperor affected to consider that he had secured by treaty what his father attempted in war. That

object, however, had been always as dear to Europe as to Russia. The war was really created by those other designs on the part of the Czar, to which the peace was intended to give an effectual and permanent check.

TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF ROMANOFF.



CHAPTER VI.

THE NATIONAL CHURCH.

Primitive Idolatry — Apostle Andrew — Introduction of Christianity — Controversy between Eastern and Western Churches — State of the Patriarchates — Council of Chalcedon — "Universal" Bishop — Dispute on the Procession of the Holy Ghost — Mutual Excommunications — Photius — Greek Missionary Efforts — Baptism of Olga — Conversion of St. Vladimir — Progress of the Dispute with Rome — Temporary Reconciliation — Council of Florence — Rejected at Constantinople — Russian Zeal — Isidore — Transubstantiation — Celibacy of Clergy — German Reformers — Nikon — Church of England — Image Worship — Virgin Mary — Pictures and Lamps — Relics — Pope Pius IX. — Encyclical Letter — Reply of Greek Patriarchs — Present State of Russian Church — Governing Synod — Bishops and Dioceses — Church Property and Government — Catacombs at Kief — Troitza Lavra — Monasteries — Black and White Clergy — Their Low Condition — Nuns — Churches — Liturgy — Holy Eucharist — Service — Lent — Easter — Dramatic Effect — Seven Sacraments — Funeral Service — Sects — Old Believers — Easter Meeting at Moscow — Moreltschiki — Sceptai — Holy Napkin — Sabbatarians — Malakani — Scriptural Creed — Illiterate Errors — Douchoborzi — Kapoustin — Schism within the Church — Prospects.

THE primitive Russians, like other barbarians, practised a rude, unlettered idolatry. Their divinities were evil spirits, whose hideous outlines are still occasionally found scrawled on the houses of the peasantry. The principal idol, called *Perune*, or *Pegrubius*, was hewed with a hatchet from a log of wood, adorned with a gilt beard, and worshipped with libations of ale or mead. Animal sacrifices also were offered, especially the goat; the blood was sprinkled on the earth, and the flesh was eaten with cakes and strong drink. *Perune* was the god of the spring. A sacrifice was offered to *Zazinck* before harvest, and to *Dzinck* at its conclusion. Other idols presided over the earth, air,

sea, and rivers; there was a god of sailors, of thunder, and of riches. A prince of darkness, and a whole train of demons and goblins, haunted the woods, and were propitiated by oblations of food left under the elder-tree.

The Russians pretend that the apostle Andrew, who is generally believed to have preached in some of the unknown regions denominated Scythia, ascended the Dnieper, and planting the cross on the hills above Kief, prophesied that in that spot should arise a great city, where God would have many churches to his name. On the strength of this tradition, the apostle is claimed as the founder of the Russian church.* In fact, however, no vestiges of any evangelical labours are discernible for nearly nine centuries after this apocryphal incident. The expedition of Oskold to Constantinople, A.D. 865, is the earliest date that can be assigned to the introduction of Christianity; and to understand the form it assumed in Russia, it is necessary to refer to the long controversy between the Eastern and Western Churches.

When the gospel received its first legal endowments and establishment at the beginning of the fourth century, the Emperor Constantine divided the whole church under four patriarchs, corresponding with the civil distribution of the empire under the four prætorian prefects. The first in rank was the bishop or pope† of Rome, the ancient capital of the empire; next came the patriarch of Constantinople, or New Rome, and then the patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria.‡ Each

* Mouravieff's History of the Church of Russia.

† The Greek word *pappas*, from which came the Latin *pap-a*, and the English *pope*, is a diminutive or affectionate expression for "father," and in the Eastern church it is the ordinary appellation of the *parish priest*.

‡ Jerusalem, though the oldest see, and the mother of all the churches, was

presided over a subordinate hierarchy of exarchs, metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops; and the whole body was divided by the languages employed in the liturgy, into the Latin or Western Church, and the Greek or Eastern Church.

A strife for pre-eminence early arose between the prelates of Rome and Constantinople, one relying on the antiquity and wealth of his see, and the large extent of its ecclesiastical jurisdiction*, the other on the dignity of the great city to which the residence of the Cæsars had been transferred. In the contest which ensued, the Eastern church enjoyed the advantage of possessing the original language of the New Testament, and the writings of the earliest Christian fathers; but this was counterbalanced by many relics of the old Pagan philosophy, by the prevalence of a luxurious refinement, and the tendency of the Greek intellect to subtle and intricate speculation. These were the causes of the great heresies which distracted the infant church, all of which (except the Pelagian) originated in the east. On the other hand, Rome remained, after the irruption of the barbarians into the western empire, the single centre of light and civilization amid rude, unlettered nations. Her doctrines were received without question, and her authority was supported at the point of the sword. No heresy, it was affirmed, could invade the Latin see, and this religious unity gave it a conspicuous advantage over the divided councils of the east.

The pope being so far removed from the imperial

not raised into a patriarchate till the following century, when the title was assumed by Juvenal, and confirmed by the emperor.

* The total number of bishops under Constantine was 1800, of whom 800 belonged to the western patriarchate, and 1000 to the three oriental provinces.

residence, was enabled to arrogate an independence of the civil power, impossible to prelates living under the eye of the emperor. The titles of vicar and representative of the Almighty were in the east appropriated by the crown, and the church could no more question its ecclesiastical, than its temporal, supremacy. The ascendancy of Rome was still further increased by the hold obtained upon the conscience of its adherents by means of private confession, a practice instituted by pope Leo, in a decree bearing date 6th March 459 *, and not adopted in the east till a later period. These advantages the occupants of the papal see were well inclined to maintain, even before they had developed those views of the primacy of St. Peter, which in after times converted its authority into an article of the faith.

In the time of pope Leo the Great, the patriarch of Constantinople claiming an authority over his brethren of Alexandria and Antioch, to which the latter were indisposed to submit, they addressed an appeal to Rome. The complaint was no more than might at any time be made by one bishop to another of equal authority; certainly the prelate complained of never recognised any jurisdiction in the pope. Neither was such a claim asserted by Leo himself, for he was a party to the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451), when a canon was passed to the following effect: "That the fathers did reasonably accord its privileges to Ancient Rome, *because it was the imperial city*; and for the same reason the hundred and fifty bishops here assembled have decided that New Rome, which is

* Mosheim, Cent. V., p. 2, ch. iv. The words of the epistle containing this ordinance are cited from Baronius in Waddington's Church History, ch. ix.

honoured with the empire and the senate, shall have the same advantages with Ancient Rome in the ecclesiastical constitution, and *be the second after it.*" Meaning, obviously, that the two sees were to be independent in power, and equal in privilege; but that in rank and precedence the superiority was due to the more ancient.*

A hundred years later, in a synod at Constantinople, the patriarch John assumed the title of *Œcumenic*, or universal, bishop, a style by which Leo also had been addressed in the complaint from Alexandria and Antioch, and which is still borne by the eastern patriarchs. The phrase, perhaps, originally signified nothing more than the corresponding one of "*Catholic* bishop" at this day; implying that the prelate belonged to the "*Œcumenic*" or "*Catholic*" communion, not that he pretended to universal jurisdiction over other bishops. The title, however, was warmly resented at Rome. Gregory the Great protested that it was anti-Christian, and argued that St. Peter was not called the "universal apostle," though gifted with the primacy of the whole church. Subsequent popes, however, usurped the objectionable designation themselves, and defended it by the apocryphal assertion that it was *transferred* from the patriarch of Constantinople to Pope Boniface III. by the Emperor Phocas. That that pontiff was actually so addressed is probable enough; but it is hard to see how that which was *anti-Christian* in the patriarch, could be made lawful in the pope by the gift of a sacrilegious usurper. Neither is it proved that the title ever implied universal *jurisdiction* in either prelate.

The controversy originating in this dispute was

* Waddington's Church History, ch. ix.

embittered by theological differences in the eighth century. The Nicene Creed, as enlarged at the General Council of Constantinople (A.D. 381), stated that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father; to this the Latin words *Filioque*, "and from the Son" were subsequently added in the Western church. The addition is said to have been sanctioned by pope Leo in the middle of the fifth century; but no question appears to have been publicly agitated about it till three hundred years later. It was then defended from a copy of the canons of Constantinople, which had been undoubtedly falsified. In a council held at Gentili, near Paris (A.D. 767), the French clergy pronounced in favour of the words, but the pope (Leo III.), admitting the truth of the doctrine, objected to its being inserted in the creed as an article of the faith. Nevertheless, the words maintained their place throughout the Western church, while they were indignantly denounced by the Greeks, not only as a corruption of the canon, but as involving *heresy* in a prime article of the faith.

In the first point the Greeks were undoubtedly right, in the other they were as clearly mistaken. They supposed the Latins to assert two distinct sources or *spirations* of the Holy Ghost, but the others were in fact as zealous for the unity as themselves; they only wished to maintain the community of the Son in all the acts of the Father, and especially his intervention as the channel by which the Spirit proceeds to the creatures. These truths being equally acknowledged on both sides, the dispute was one of words more than of things. It was brought to a crisis in the ninth century, when the emperor deposed the patriarch Ignatius, in order to appoint Photius, a lay-

man of extraordinary talents, to the see of Constantinople. The exiled bishop appealed to Rome, and Pope Nicholas I. espousing his cause, assembled a council (A.D. 862), which excommunicated Photius, with all his abettors. The latter retorted by a similar anathema, promulgated at Constantinople four years later, justifying his act by a circular which charged the Roman church with five direct "heresies:" (1) fasting on the sabbath or seventh day of the week; (2) indulging in milk and cheese in the first week of Lent; (3) prohibiting the marriage of priests; (4) limiting the use of the chrism to bishops (to the exclusion of presbyters); and lastly, interpolating the creed by the addition of the words *Filioque*.

This mixing up of serious truth with frivolous points of discipline, by a prelate who is renowned for universal talents, sound judgment, and infinite reading*, implies a general absence of spiritual discrimination in all the parties to this protracted controversy.

• It was just when the schism had reached its height that Oskold's arrival alarmed the luxurious inhabitants for the safety of Constantinople. The ecclesiastical historians do not raise our opinion of the patriarch or his religion, when they tell us that Photius, going in procession to a church in the harbour where the "virginal robe of the mother of God" was preserved, plunged the precious relic into the water, upon which

* "Photius, than whom Greece, the parent of so much genius, has never produced perhaps a more accomplished man, is singularly recommended by talents applicable to every object, sound judgment, extreme acuteness, infinite reading, incredible diligence. He had held nearly all the offices of state, he had thoroughly investigated all the records of the church; in his Bibliotheca alone, still extant, he has brought together nearly two hundred and eighty writers, chiefly ecclesiastical, which he has studied, reviewed, and abstracted, and pronounced a most accurate judgment on their arguments, style, fidelity, and authority." — *Cave ap. Jortin*, A.D. 861.

the sea boiled up from the bottom, and wrecked the vessels of the heathen. The barbarian leaders are said to have been so impressed with the miracle, that they renounced their idolatry on the spot, and became the first fruits of the Russians to Christ.* •

The conversion of the princes is as apocryphal as the miracle assigned for its cause. Some rays of Christian light probably penetrated into Little Russia from this expedition; and it is certain that eighty years later one church at least existed at Kief, in which the Christian Varangians of the Grand Prince's court swore to a treaty with the Byzantine ambassadors. But no general impression can be traced till a century later.

The Greek church has been justly reproached with a want of missionary enterprise. It seems, however, that during the patriarchate of Photius some exertions were made in Bulgaria, Moravia, and Illyria, and several converts were baptized.† About the middle of the same century the brothers Cyril and Methodius translated the New Testament into the hitherto unwritten Slavonian, making use of the Greek characters with additions, partly Hebrew, partly Armenian, and partly of their own invention. The translation included the Greek Liturgy, and, as some say, the entire Bible. The circulation of this work, gradually extending among the Russians, no doubt powerfully contributed to their conversion. Another more worldly agency was found in the influence of their princes. Among a

* This legend is enshrined in an anthem still used in the daily morning prayer of the Russian church.

† A see is said to have been founded among the Russians as early as A.D. 891; but the narrative is disfigured with another miracle, which leaves the whole statement in doubt.

people already civilized, the gospel is distasteful to the higher classes, whose habits it rebukes; it is welcomed only by the low and despised, whom it elevates to a new dignity. Hence it was persecuted by the rulers and philosophers of Greece and Rome, while gladly listened to by the "foolish and weak"* It is otherwise with barbarous and ignorant tribes wanting the comforts of civilized life, and void of mental employments. Here the chiefs are the first to discern the superiority of the Christian missionary, and to commend his teaching to their followers.

* In Russia, accordingly (as in Saxon England), the evangelical movement began from above. The first royal convert was Olga, surnamed "The Wise," who, after terminating her wars with the neighbouring tribes, repaired to Constantinople in quest of the "wisdom that cometh down from above." She was received with joy by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus. The patriarch Polyeuctes readily undertook her instruction in the faith, and the purple-born Cæsar stood godfather at the font. Having there received the name of his great ancestress "Helen," she returned, laden with costly gifts, to diffuse the new religion among her idolatrous subjects. The task, however, proved too great for her strength; for though she founded churches, encouraged missionaries, and was subsequently canonized as a saint, little success attended her exertions. She died after surrendering the throne to her son, protesting against the surrounding heathenism, and strictly charging her chaplain to bury her without Pagan observances.

The last sands of the tenth century were running

out, when the conversion of Vladimir the Great planted Christianity among his subjects at one step, and in the form which it still retains. This monarch not only established bishops in the principal towns of his dominions, but invested them with ecclesiastical jurisdiction, according to the provisions of the Greek canon law. The Russian church was made a part of the patriarchate of Constantinople, and embraced, without a question, the distinctive views of that communion.

The schism with Rome was far from being healed by the fall of Photius, who was twice deposed from the patriarchal chair. It became embittered in the middle of the eleventh century by a new question touching the use of *unleavened* bread in the Lord's supper. This the Greeks, with their usual impetuosity, stigmatized as an unpardonable innovation on the part of the pope, while the latter replied to them with haughtiness and contempt. The patriarch was again excommunicated by Pope Leo IX.; and though Roman legates were invited to Constantinople to settle the difference, their aggressive proceedings served but to widen the breach. They had the audacity to launch their anathema at the patriarch and all his adherents, in the midst of his own cathedral church. After placing the written sentence on the altar of St. Sophia, they shook off the dust from their feet, and departed. The patriarch retorted with equal vehemence; the insulting document was publicly burned by the emperor's order, and each of the two communions continued henceforth to arrogate to itself the exclusive title of the *Œcumenical* or *Catholic* church, and to consider the other as fallen from the apostolical firmament.

The establishment of a Latin kingdom at Jerusalem

was followed by the most determined efforts to introduce the Western church within the limits of the Oriental patriarchates. Latin prelates were appointed at Antioch and Alexandria; and on the storming of Constantinople in 1204, the papal aggressions were extended to that city also. The Greek prelates retired to Nice, where negotiations were commenced between representatives of the two churches, which, under the circumstances, could hardly avoid failure. When the Latins were expelled and the Greek prelates recovered their sees, they were affronted by the retention at the papal court of a titular hierarchy with oriental designations, perpetuating claims which had never any foundation but in treachery and violence.*

The two churches were at issue also in respect to Bulgaria, which each claimed to have first evangelized, and which, by different emperors, had been assigned in succession to both. The result was a frequent intrusion of papal emissaries within the oriental dioceses, to the great indignation of the orthodox party.

An apparent union was patched up at the council of Lyons (A.D. 1274), through the duplicity of the Greek emperor, who was alarmed at the preparations making in the west for a second crusade. But ten years later a council at Constantinople repudiated the conditions of

* The crusaders pillaged the city, robbed the churches, profaned the altars, scattered the relics, and trampled the images under foot. St. Sophia itself was desecrated and plundered by men who fought under the banner of the cross. Pope Innocent III. affected an indignant reprobation at this "sacrilegious violence" which, he wrote, had exasperated the Greeks, and so turned them away from obedience to the apostolic see, that "they justly abhorred the Latins more than dogs." Nevertheless, since the deed was done, he gave it his sanction, accepted the primacy tendered to himself, and thought that the Divine judgment was transferring the vineyard to other husbandmen who would render him the fruits in due season. Once seized, everything, it seems, belongs *jure Divino* to Rome; the pope was unable to trace any Divine transfer in the restoration of the oriental bishops, but has continued by his titular prelates to assert his right to other men's possessions down to the present time.

that agreement, and dissolved the union. When the Turks were at the gates of Constantinople, and the last of the Palæologi was imploring the assistance of Europe, Pope Eugenius seized the opportunity to renew the discussion, and the humiliated Cæsar was induced to appear with some of his clergy at a council opened at Ferrara, and continued at Florence (1439). At the latter place the Russian church was represented by its metropolitan, Isidore. The subjects in dispute were there reduced to four : (1) the old question of the procession of the Spirit ; (2) the use of unleavened bread in the eucharist ; (3) the definition of purgatory ; and lastly, the primacy of the pope. On the second, the Greeks, adhering to the use of leavened bread for themselves, admitted that a valid sacrament might be administered in the other. The third was settled by omitting any definition of the sufferings by which departed souls are purified, the Greeks supposing that darkness and tempest were the agents employed, while fire was the element contended for in the west. The question of the procession was debated at greater length. The Greeks, besides their desire to maintain uncorrupted the text of the council of Constantinople, were actuated by a dread of allowing two principles of Deity, and two acts of "spiration" in the coming forth of the Holy Ghost. The Latins, on the other hand, thought it essential to the consubstantial Divinity of the Son (which had been the subject of several heresies in the east), to assert his participation with the Father in this, as in all other acts of Divinity. An agreement was at last arrived at in words which, to those who desire only Christian unanimity, seem as satisfactory as any that can be devised on so great a mystery : " In the name of the Holy Trinity, of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, we, Latins

and Greeks, agree in the holy union of these two churches, and confess that all true Christians ought to receive this genuine doctrine; that the Holy Spirit is eternally of the Father and the Son, and that from all eternity it proceeds from the one and the other as from a single principle, and by a single production, which we call spiration. We also declare that what some of the holy fathers have said, namely, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, should be taken in such a manner as to signify that the Son, as well as the Father, and conjointly with him, is the principle of the Holy Spirit. And since whatsoever the Father hath, that he communicates to his Son, excepting the paternity which distinguishes him from the Son and the Holy Spirit; so is it from the Father that the Son has received, from all eternity, that productive virtue through which the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, as well as from the Father."

In point of fact, however, neither party was in quest of Christian unanimity. The ecclesiastical jurisdiction was a question of keener interest than any mere definition of doctrine. It was disposed of by one of those ingenious compromises which settle nothing. Admitting the papal supremacy in terms, the emperor insisted on limiting its application by two conditions, which practically nullified the concession. The pope was not to call councils in his dominions without the imperial sanction, nor to receive appeals at Rome from any of the patriarchs, but to send legates to Constantinople to give judgment on the spot. As the Eastern church acknowledges no tribunal above a council, this was in effect to maintain the old state of things. The whole arrangement, however, was only submitted to by the

Greek delegates under the pressure of the emperor's authority, in hope of purchasing some material assistance towards the defence of the throne. At Constantinople it was indignantly and unanimously repudiated. The delegates were stigmatized on their return as *azymites**, apostates, and traitors to the true religion. The people fled out of the sanctuaries which they entered, and Mark of Ephesus, who had been the single dissident at Florence, became the idol of the clergy and populace. It was in vain that the emperor placed a decided supporter of the Union in the see of Constantinople. The other patriarchs broke into open rebellion, repudiated the clergy ordained at Constantinople, and threatened the emperor himself with excommunication.

The ferment was too great to be allayed by the appearance of the Turks at the very gates of the city. Pope Nicholas likened the intractable church to the unfruitful fig-tree, and prophesied that if in three years she did not embrace the union with Rome, the Divine justice would cut her down. But the Greek ecclesiastics were so little moved, that they wrote the very same year to the Bohemian Protestants to encourage them in their resistance to the pope. Equally fruitless were the exertions of the emperor, who invited a papal legate to his court, and caused the Roman pontiff to be prayed for in the public liturgy. Every one, except his own dependants, priests, monks, nuns, soldiers, and citizens, joined in the shout, "Anathema against all who are united with the Latins." It was easy to foresee that if these dissensions continued, the fate of the empire was sealed. The pope had the triumph of seeing his prophecy fulfilled.

* From the Greek *ἄζυμος*, without leaven.

in the fall of the rival church, and the transfer of her pleasant places to the infidel.*

No portion of the Greek communion was more determined in its opposition to Rome than the Muscovite church. Isidore had been elevated to the metropolitan's chair through the papal influence at Constantinople, and in opposition to the person elected by the Grand Prince and the bishops. At Florence he was so prominent on the papal side, that at the conclusion of the council he was decorated with the Roman purple, and the title of Cardinal Legate of the apostolic see in Russia. He returned in great state, bearing letters from the pope to the Grand Prince; but on naming the Roman pontiff along with the patriarchs in the public liturgy, the cardinal was interrupted by the monarch in person, who loudly rebuked him as a traitor and false pastor, and convening a synod, repudiated his acts and confined him in a monastery. From this place he found means to make his way to Constantinople, where he continued to foment the divisions which hastened the fall of the empire, and then escaping to Rome, received from the pope the titular designation of Patriarch of Constantinople.† In this capacity he sent a Latin metropolitan to Kief, where, from the time of its conquest by the Poles, the Greek church had been separated from its relations with Moscow, and ruled by a metropolitan directly subordinate to Constantinople. This step, together with the influence of the Poles, who were bigoted Romanists, promised a complete triumph

* Waddington's Church History, ch. xxvi.

† The Turks were particularly anxious to secure the person of this distinguished agitator, but the crafty prelate escaped by putting his red hat on the head of a corpse, which was cut off, and paraded through the streets in triumph; while the cardinal, having obtained his ransom as a private man, withdrew unobserved in the crowd.

to the Uniate party in Little Russia. Many of the Greek sees were extinguished, and the most active measures were resorted to against those who adhered to that rite.

As in many other instances, however, these persecutions only confirmed the oppressed, while they roused the resentment of the Kossacks, who were ardent for the Greek tradition, and furthered their secession to the allegiance of the Czar.

The hostile relations of the two great divisions of Christendom continued unabated down to the sixteenth century. It may excite some surprise that no mention has been made in this protracted controversy of the doctrine of *transubstantiation*, which was undoubtedly an innovation of Rome, introduced by Paschasius Radbert (A.D. 831), warmly opposed by Béranger, and not received as an article of the faith till the council of Lateran (A.D. 1215). From this silence it has been inferred that no great difference existed between the churches with respect to the eucharist, but the dates alone are enough to show that the Greeks must have been ignorant of the controversy in the west. It is true that words are found in their own fathers quite analogous in meaning to *transubstantiation*, but it is well known that such language did not anciently imply the teaching of modern Rome; and in some material points the Greeks have always warmly repudiated the papal doctrine and practice. At the council of Florence their language was so distasteful to the Romanists, that an explanation was demanded and conceded. The point seems to have related not to the nature of the sacramental change, so much as to the means by which it was effected. The Greek doctrine is, that grace is imparted to the elements by the invocation of the

Holy Spirit and the blessing of the gifts; while the Romanists maintain that the mysterious change is effected by the priest's repetition of the Saviour's words of institution. It was this latter point which was conceded by the Greeks at Florence, and repudiated together with the rest of their proceedings by the Eastern churches.*

It is certain that the Greeks have ever condemned the withholding the cup from the laity, affirming that to communicate in one kind only is to sin against the essence of the sacrament. In this protest they are able to appeal to the papal authority itself, for Leo the Great (A.D. 440), a keen detector of heresy, denounced this very practice as indubitable evidence of Manichæism. "We have discovered," he writes, "that some abstain from the cup of the sacred blood, receiving only a portion of the Lord's body. These must undoubtedly communicate in the entire sacrament, or be entirely repelled, for a division of one and the same mystery cannot be attempted *without sacrilege*."†

Another point in which the Eastern church stood equally opposed to the Western was the compulsory celibacy of the clergy. Admitting the vow of celibacy from such as are willing to devote themselves to the seclusion of the cloister, the Greeks understand the apostle's rule‡ so literally as to insist on every parish priest being "the husband of one wife." No unmar-

* The words were as follows :—"Since in the preceding congregations we have been suspected of holding an erroneous opinion touching the words of consecration, we declare in the presence of your Holiness, . . . that we have learned from our ancient fathers, and especially from St. Chrysostom, that it is the words of our Lord which change the substance of the bread and wine into that of the body and blood of Jesus Christ; and that those divine words have the force and virtue to make that wonderful change of substance, or that transubstantiation, and that we follow the sentiments of that great teacher."—*Waddington's Church History*, ch. xxvi.

† *Waddington's Church History*, ch. ix.

‡ 1 Tim. iii. 2.

ried man can be appointed to a cure, and no priest is allowed to marry a second time, if bereaved of his wife. On the other hand, another interpretation, equally literal, compels every *bishop* to lead a single life; that exalted order being considered especially called on to "belong to the Lord."* The result is that priests who lose their wives usually retire into a monastery, and the episcopacy is filled almost exclusively by monks.

These broad and distinctive marks of separation from Rome, with her often-repeated appeal to Holy Scripture and primitive antiquity, might have been expected to impel the Greek church to a joyful recognition of the movement, which arose in the bosom of her adversary at the Protestant Reformation. Melancthon was sanguine enough to translate the Confession of Augsburg into Greek, and send it to the Patriarch of Constantinople; but he received no reply, and it was soon evident that little sympathy was to be expected from any of the oriental communions. With all their apparent submission to the word of God, the Greeks assert an ecclesiastical tradition, practically as infallible as the Roman pontiff. They believe not only that all Holy Scripture has been rightly expounded by the councils and fathers, but that their own existing doctrine and discipline are in exact accordance with the primitive canons and decrees; consequently every reform must be a heresy, and every exercise of private judgment a rebellion against God and his church. In this blind, unreasoning conservatism the Russian clergy were naturally foremost, because always the least qualified by learning or reason to judge of any reform that might be suggested. In their eyes the most evident mistakes and the most flagrant corruptions were sacred the moment

* 1 Cor. vii. 32.

they obtained even a local currency. With the Hindu faculty of reconciling contradictions, they remained impervious to the objection that *different* views prevailed in different parishes of their own holy and incorruptible communion.

Hence, when the language of the church had been forgotten during the Mongol usurpation, and the illiterate priests did not understand the services which they continued to recite, the greatest opposition was manifested to a correction of the errors and discrepancies that naturally crept in. The blunder of one ignorant priest was followed by another not more enlightened; but every practice once introduced was implicitly believed to have come down from the apostles, and to be sanctioned by councils and fathers.*

This indiscriminate hostility to reform renders it often difficult to distinguish the true nature of the opinions branded as "heresies" in the Russian church. About the middle of the sixteenth century some views were condemned in a synod at Moscow, which being noted to proceed from Lithuania, were doubtless connected with the German Reformation. The symptoms of this new "heresy" are stated to have been "a rejection of the canons and ordinances of the church, her ceremonies and icons, and questioning the Divinity of the Saviour."† The latter is the well-known calumny both of Greek and Latin ecclesiastics against those who repudiate the worship of the Virgin. The author

* Dionysius, the archimandrite of the Trinity Lavra, was imprisoned and tortured for expunging the words "by fire," which had crept in, after the invocation of the Spirit, in the form for consecrating the baptismal water. He was charged with "wishing to extirpate the element of fire from the land of Russia," A grievous sin, indeed, in the icy north!

† Mouravieff's History, ch. v.

of the little sect was an apothecary called Baksheen, or, according to another historian, Matushka; but they were not without adherents of a higher rank. Cassian, bishop of Riazan, was deprived of his diocese on this charge; and Artemius, hegumen of the Trinity Lavra, the preacher chosen to exhort the first confessors to recant, afterwards "preached the faith which once he destroyed," and was banished to the Solovetsky monastery. It is deeply to be regretted that so little is known of these "heretics," who appear to have left no descendants to the present time. All that the church historians vouchsafe to tell us is that they were particularly "inveterate against St. Nicolas," who shares with the Virgin the devotions of the orthodox Russian, a superstition the more remarkable inasmuch as Nicolas is a Latin saint and not a Greek one.* He was probably introduced into Russia by the princess Sophia, the consort of Ivan the Great, who raised a church to his honour on the site of the residence, which had been appropriated to the Tartar envoys, in the Kremlin at Moscow.

In the judgment of such critics there would be little charity towards reformers who opposed themselves to existing ecclesiastical usages. No distinction was

* It is stated in a work published at Leipzig in 1597, with the title of "*Orbis Terrarum Succincta Explicatio a M. Neandro*," that in Russia the bells rang for church daily at four A.M., when every one attended. Before leaving home, they invoked St. Nicolas and the martyrs before a wooden table painted with heads, and having thus "propitiated the household divinities" (*pœnatibus placatis*), repaired to the sacred edifice where this saint was adored as the national god (*Nicolaus quasi deum colunt patrium*). The author notices that the priests wore long beards, and that though often seen drunk in the streets, they retained the veneration of the people. Schools were held in all the churches, but no catechisms were taught. The prayers were chiefly to the Virgin and St. Nicolas. Nicolas was bishop of Myra under Constantine the Great, but his festival was instituted by Pope Urban II. (A.D. 1087), in memory of the translation of his relics to Bari, in Italy.

perceived between Luther, Calvin, and the other Protestant leaders; all were summarily condemned under the designation of the "German heresy," an epithet which appealed at once to the zeal of the orthodox, and to the national pride of the Slavonian.

It is true that the patriarch Nikon asserted the great principle of the Protestant Reformation, when he appealed from existing corruptions to the ancient fathers, and to the inspired writers, the most ancient of all. But Nikon's reforms had no bearing on the evangelical and spiritual doctrines contended for by the Protestant reformers. Nikon has been called "the Chrysostom, the Luther, and the Wolsey of his church;" but though renowned as a preacher, and laborious in the study and translation of the Scriptures, we seek in vain in his character either for the largeness of heart, or for the evangelical views, which distinguished the German reformer. None of his many controversies respected the cardinal doctrines of justification by the blood of Christ through faith, and sanctification by the Holy Spirit shed abroad in the heart. Reversing Luther's example, he renounced his marriage vows to embrace the uncommanded austerities of the cloister. He reposed an unshaken confidence in the merits of solitude, fasting, iron chains, and other forms of bodily penance. With a spirit unmortified and ambitious as Wolsey's, he does not seem, like him, to have learned humility by his fall. His life was exhausted in hotly disputing the most "beggarly elements of the law," — the position of the fingers in making the sign of the cross, — whether the name of Jesus consisted of three syllables, as in Greek, or only two, as in Latin, — whether the Hallelujah was to be repeated *twice* in reference to the double nature of Christ, or *three times* in honour

of the Holy Trinity. The images which he cast out of the churches were either Latin saints, or private innovations. The orthodox *icons*, the relics of the saints, and the worship of the Virgin, were left undisturbed; and this great man ended his days in a melancholy bondage to the "works" of the cloister.

Yet even Nikon's reforms were too extensive for Russian conservatism. Though sanctioned by the four patriarchs and a national council, backed by the all-powerful Czar, they produced the first great secession from the established church—a secession which continues powerful under the name of *Starowertzi*, or "Old Believers," to the present time.

Just before the commencement of the unevangelical efforts of Nikon, a desire for union with the east was manifested in the church of England. Being an episcopal communion, and appealing like the Greeks themselves to fathers and councils, a more favourable reception was hoped for than had attended the German reformers. The overtures were so far successful, that a friendly correspondence was established by Archbishops Abbot and Laud with Cyril Lucar, then patriarch of Constantinople, a prelate of considerable learning, and who had acquainted himself, by a visit to Germany, with the state of the Protestant churches. The patriarch drew up an account of the Greek faith, and of the different oriental sects, which was published by the Dutch ambassador at the Hague in 1629, and again with notes and additions, by his own direction, at Geneva. He was even projecting a reformation of the Eastern church on Anglican principles, when he fell a sacrifice to the bigotry of the ignorant Greeks, incited by the artifices of some French Jesuits at Constantinople. By their machinations he was accused of treason,

and put to death by the Sultan, June 27th 1638.* He was further condemned as a heretic in a synod assembled by his successor, Cyril of Berœa; but the latter was himself in turn deposed and anathematized, on charges which included the false accusation of his predecessor. Still the confession of Cyril Lucar remained repudiated; subsequent patriarchs even pretended to doubt its authenticity, stigmatized it as a "Calvinistic" forgery, and put forth "orthodox confessions" in refutation of it.

One of these, drawn up by Peter Mogila the metropolitan of Little Russia, and approved by the patriarch of Constantinople in a synod at Jassy 1643, constitutes the orthodox confession of the Russian church at the present day. Another to the same effect was promulgated by the patriarch Dositheus at Jerusalem in 1672, and subsequently sent into Russia, with the concurrence of all the patriarchs. From these documents it appears that the only effect produced by the representations of the reformers was to drive the Greek ecclesiastics nearer to Rome. In their eagerness to condemn the "Lutherano-Calvinists"—an epithet which included the English bishops—they asserted the Roman doctrine of *transubstantiation*, both in name and definition.

The confession of Dositheus goes so far as to deny that the laity are entitled to read the Scriptures, adopts the Tridentine canon including the Apocrypha, and leaves but a verbal difference with Rome on the subject of purgatory. It is true that both councils were probably very ignorant of what they were doing; the patriarchs,

* England is indebted to the munificence of this patriarch for two valuable MSS.:—The Arabic Pentateuch, now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, which he presented to Archbishop Laud, and the still more splendid gift made to King Charles I. of the celebrated Alexandrine Codex of the Old and New Testaments, now in the library of the British Museum.

being little versed in theological questions, and much under the influence of the French ambassador at Constantinople, were induced to adopt the Roman phraseology, without suspecting its discordance from their ancient standards. In proof of this we find the papal doctrine of transubstantiation coupled with a proviso that it was not intended to *define the manner* of the change. As a theological question, this absurdity must be held to neutralize the whole article: it may certainly be quoted *against* the papal doctrine more than in favour of it. Still, in a practical point of view, it can hardly be denied that the Greek church is deeply committed on this point, as on many others, to views and practices inconsistent with that simple reliance on the blood of Christ, which is the essence of evangelical religion.

The idea of a union continued to be cherished by some English divines till the time of Peter the Great, when, without any authority from the church they pretended to represent, some individuals opened a communication direct with the Russian hierarchy.* The synod, by the Czar's desire, invited them to send two of the English bishops to Moscow, to confer upon the subject, but the death of Peter put a stop to the correspondence; and the Russian church having meanwhile received and assented to the confession of Dositheus, the Anglican views were summarily condemned as tainted with "Calvinistic heresy."

With the English, the difficulty chiefly felt had been the invocation of the saints, and the worship paid to their *icons* or pictures. Other differences were thought

* It is necessary to note the unauthorized nature of this communication, because it resulted in an offer, on the part of the English, to connive at image worship in the Russians, if they might be excused from it themselves.

capable of reconciliation, not excepting the great controversy on the double procession ; but these involved points both of principle and practice which there were no means of surmounting. The English ecclesiastics founded their hopes of union on their acknowledgment of the first four of the (so-called) general councils. The Greek church, however, attributes an equal authority to *seven*, and the last of these, the second council of Nice, held in the year 786, was called for the express purpose of sanctioning the worship of the saints.

The history of this council was worthy of its object and results. At a previous synod of 338 bishops in Constantinople, it had been unanimously decreed, that "every image, of whatever material composed by the evil art of the painter, should be cast out of the church of Christians, as alien and abominable." This decree was so rigorously enforced, that the emperor Leo IV. banished his wife Irene from his presence, for presuming to violate its provisions, but the wicked princess procured her husband to be poisoned ; and having obtained the reins of power as regent for her infant son, she proceeded to reverse the decree which had occasioned her disgrace.* With this object she first placed her *master of the horse* Tarrasius in the patriarchal chair, and then assembled a council for the condemnation of the *Iconoclasts*. In this assembly, which was attended by the pope's legates, image-breakers were pronounced worse than Arians or any other heretics ; and it was re-

* This infamous woman kept the emperor, her son, in a state of pupillage till upwards of twenty years old, when, being compelled to surrender the government, she induced him to deprive his four uncles of their eyes, and then, inflicting the same fate on himself, resumed the imperial power, which she exercised with the utmost rigour in favour of the new idolatry. Cardinal Baronius defends her execrable crimes as being prompted by "religion and a love of justice." In the Greek church this murderess, though again deposed and exiled, is canonized as a saint.

solved, "that holy images, whether, formed of colours or of stones, or any other material, be set forth in all the holy churches of God, and also on sacred vessels and garments, on walls and on doors, in houses and by the highways,—whether images of Christ Jesus our Lord, our God and Saviour, or of our immaculate mistress, the holy mother of God, or of the holy angels, or of the saints and other holy men. For in proportion as these are continually seen in images and pictures, so are the minds of the beholders aroused to the remembrance of, and affection for, their prototypes. And further, we define that there be paid to them the worship of salutation and honour, and not that true worship which is according to faith, and which belongs to God alone. And in the same way as to the holy cross or to the sacred Gospels,—so to these shall be made offerings of light and incense, as was the pious custom of those of old." *

This open avowal of idolatry, being universally received in the oriental church in the time of Vladimir, passed into Russia as an undisputed element of Christianity. It is to be observed, however, that the Greeks claim a distinction between *sculpture* and *painting*. Carved statues and crucifixes in relief are forbidden as "graven images;" the authorized *icons* are paintings on a flat surface, and usually with a gold ground; being drawn in a rude traditional style, they are viewed as *emblems*, rather than as actual portraits, of the persons indicated.

With regard to the Virgin, her figure is never painted alone, as in the modern church of Rome, but always bearing the Divine Infant from whom her honours are derived. The Eastern church, also, while admitting in the canon before cited two kinds of worship, corres-

* Mendham's "Seventh General Council," pp. 439—40.

ponding with the *latria* and *dulia* of the church of Rome, is ignorant of that *third* species invented by Romanists, for the especial glory of the Virgin, under the name of *hyperdulia*.*

Still the Virgin receives in Russia an extravagance of superstitious reverence, not exceeded in Spain or Italy. Vladimir adopted her for his especial patron, and placed in his first church, which was dedicated to her honour, a portrait brought with him from Greece, and believed to have been painted by the evangelist Luke. This icon was preserved in the ancient capital, and solemnly transported to Vladimir and to Moscow, as the palladium on which the safety of the country depended. The Oka which encircles the district of Moscow is called "the girdle of the mother of God," and the "holy land of Russia" is supposed to be in some peculiar manner under her protection.

This performance of St. Luke, like the true cross, claims the power of multiplying itself; and other paintings of the Virgin, attributed to the same hand, confer a sanctity on different cities in Russia. When it was necessary to retreat from Smolensk before the invading army of Napoleon, it was apprehended that the soldiers might refuse to abandon the venerable city; but General Barclay directed the Virgin's picture to be carried along with the camp on a triumphal car, saying that this was the only object which gave the place importance in the eyes of a Russian. This picture was solemnly paraded through the lines, attended by torches and tapers, on the eve of the battle of Borodino, and was followed by the Russian general and

* Cardinal Bellarmine reckons no less than *six* kinds of worship; two *latrias*, two *dulias*, and two *hyperdulias*; one for the *persons* of God, the Virgin, and the saints, and another for their *images*. The Greeks, to do them justice, allow no worship to any *person* but God.

his officers in the sight of the French, who watched the procession with wonder and scorn.

The Russians, indeed, seem to value their icons more than their priests; and it is hard to recognise in the prostrations, genuflections, and kissings, with which they are adored, the distinction professed to be drawn between the worship of images and that which is due to God only. The directions of Nice are obeyed to the letter: not only the churches, but every private dwelling, and every room in it, has its painted saint with a light burning before it. The doors, gates, streets, and markets are similarly decorated; the people seem to think every place consigned to the evil spirit that has not some visible badge of God, his angels or saints, to deliver it. The bazaars contain enormous supplies of crosses, virgins, and paintings, of all sorts and sizes, of which the oldest and dirtiest are most in request, especially if warranted to have once decorated a church. Not unfrequently a wooden bridge is thrown across from one booth to the opposite, in order to sustain additional icons with their attendant lamps; and the bearded tradesman interrupts his keen pursuit of gain three or four times a day, to bend before these idols in supplication or thanksgiving.

Similar honours are paid to *relics*, with some of which every church is hallowed. This kind of superstition is as old as Constantine himself, who was a firm believer in their virtue*; but as Russia never had any genuine martyrs of her own, their absence has been

* In Greece it was allowed to transport the relics from place to place, but this practice was forbidden in the Latin church as likely to derogate from their repute. Hence, when Gregory the Great was applied to by the Empress Constantina, for the head of St. Paul to hallow a new church to that apostle in her capital city, the request was declined on the plea that the Roman relics were too sacred to be handled, or to be adored without awe and trembling. Not to disappoint the imperial petitioner, however, too far, the pope good-naturedly

supplied by sainting almost every one, especially if of royal blood, who met with an unjust and bloody end. Of this kind were Boris and Gleb, the sons of Vladimir, Alexander Nevsky, the young Demetrius, with a host of patriarchs, prelates, and monks. The test of martyrdom was the discovery of the "uncorrupted remains," and these were always supposed to be endowed with miraculous virtues. Most of the Russian cathedrals had one or more of such wonder-working mummies, regarded with the utmost veneration.

On the whole, then, it must be concluded that the Greek church, of which the Russian now forms the most considerable part, though preserved from some of the errors of the papacy, is practically not less widely separated from the Protestant reformers. In maintaining the Holy Scriptures as the unalterable rule of faith, she has avoided the capital error of Rome; but until this standard is actually applied to her own doctrine and discipline, it must be hopeless to think of her union with any of the churches of the Reformation.

The latest attempt of the kind proceeded from the church of Rome. The present Pope Pius IX., on his accession in 1848, addressed an encyclical letter to the Greek Christians, exhorting them to return to the Lord's fold, and to the see of St. Peter. To this document a reply was returned by the Eastern patriarchs, retorting the charge of schism, and reviewing, with much ability and spirit, the chief points in dispute between the churches. They begin with the characteristic assertion that the Eastern church "preserves unaltered her ancient character; the clergy discharge the duties incumbent upon their respective orders; the holy sacraments

promised some flings from the apostle's chain, provided that any could be induced to come away. The chain is invisible!

are everywhere administered ; and, in one word, the Eastern church has firmly kept, and still keeps, unchanged, and in their primitive purity, all the doctrines she has received from the apostles themselves and the holy fathers, who were divinely inspired ; she has made no innovation upon these doctrines ; she will maintain them for ever, without contention, curtailment, or division, in points of doctrine and pastoral union, although she is undeservedly slandered, and reproached for doing the contrary."

After this introduction the patriarchs proceed to refute the papal claim to supremacy, based, as they remark, "on arguments which the Eastern church has triumphantly refuted in writing centuries ago." They expound the "rock," not of Peter but of Peter's faith, declaring that the keys, and the charge to feed the Lord's sheep, were given equally to all the other apostles, and to all true pastors. In support of this exposition, they quote the Scripture itself, and many fathers eastern and western. They charge the pope with mutilating the text of Irenæus, and deny that the papal primacy was recognised by Athanasius, Chrysostom, or either of the seven œcumenical councils. They affirm that Christ, not Peter or any man, is the foundation-stone of the church, that orthodoxy is attested by the word of God, ascertained by the general consent of the church and the fathers, and that particular churches have authority in their own affairs. Applying this rule to Rome, they charge her with the following innovations : (1) with introducing a new creed, "opposed in almost every point to the profession of the ancient Catholic church." In this creed, besides the old addition of "*Filioque*," they object to the sacrament in one kind, to the power of indulgences, and to the papal supremacy.

They maintain that the synod of Trent, which adopted this false creed, so far from being a general council, was not even a council of the Western church. They ask, how the holy father can propose to a nation, which was the first Gentile people to embrace Christianity, to abandon the traditions of its fathers? — a nation which was first named after the name of Christ, which suffered so much for her holy religion before the taking of Constantinople (as history, ever impartial, tells us), and which has had afterwards so much to undergo from Rome, and her missionaries who were sent, as was said, to propagate religion. “These missionaries,” they continue, “used all their efforts to unsettle the faith of this nation—its sacred heritage from the holy fathers; fallacies, false teaching, insinuating conversations, pamphlets, and even calumnies as at the present time—wrongs and expedients of every kind—everything has been tried, and nothing has succeeded. The westerns have tried in vain; the nation of which we speak, in spite of all its vicissitudes, has remained firm in its belief; it has not overstepped the limits prescribed by the holy fathers; it has not submitted to any senseless addition to its holy doctrine; on the contrary, it has preserved, firmly and unchangeably, the doctrine and tradition of the apostles, conformably to the canons and decrees made and issued under the guidance of the Holy Spirit by the fathers of the east and west at the seven œcumenical councils.” *

In conclusion, the patriarchs revert to the old grievance of the double procession, asserting that the westerns fail to distinguish between the *eternal procession* and the *temporal mission* of the Holy Ghost. The latter they

* Abbé de St. Michon's “Narrative of a Religious Journey in the East.” App., p. 393.

allow to be through the Son, the former they insist is from the Father alone. The mistake arises (they say) from the Latins using the same word, *substantia*, to express the two Greek words *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις*, *essence* and *person*. The essence of the Spirit they acknowledge to be the same with the Father and the Son; but personally, he proceeds from the Father, not the Son.* This reply, which is probably the latest authentic declaration put forth by the Greek communion, is far enough from any tendency to reconciliation with Rome; but it exhibits no abatement of the old ecclesiastical pretensions, and the established church of Russia is certainly not less disposed to this kind of self-assertion than the broken fragments of the fallen empire of the east.

The Russian province, though raised to the dignity of a patriarchate in 1589, is now ruled by the "Most Holy Governing Synod," a body to which the patriarchal authority was transferred by Peter the Great in 1721. The constitution of the synod is dependent on the will of the emperor, signified through a royal commissioner called the *Ober Procuror*; it consists at present of six bishops and two archpriests, nominated by the Czar.

The church is distributed into fifty-two episcopal dioceses, including the province of Georgia which is ruled under the synod by an exarch, or metropolitan, having authority over three other bishops. With this

* This remark shows the patriarchs to be not very deeply read in the western writers, nor would they seem to be much better acquainted with the letter of St. Maximus, quoted by the Greek emperor at the council of Florence, and which explains "that the Latins, when they declare that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, do not pretend that the Son is the cause of the Holy Spirit, since they know very well that the Father is the only cause both of the Son and the Holy Spirit — of the Son, by generation, of the Holy Spirit, by procession — they only mean that the Holy Spirit proceeds *through* the Son, because he is of the same essence."

exception the titles of metropolitan and archbishop are purely nominal, the diocesan bishops being responsible directly to the governing synod. Some of the principal prelates are assisted by episcopal vicars, who have no diocesan or original jurisdiction, but are simply the deputies of their respective primates.

The diocesan bishops are divided into three classes: the first consists of the four great metropolitans of Kief and Galicia*, Moscow and Kolomna, Novgorod, and St. Petersburg. The second contains the metropolitan of Kazan, the archbishops of Astrakhan, Tobolsk, Yaroslaf and Rostoff, Pleskof (or Pskof), Riazan, Twer, Ekaterinoslaf, Tchernigoff, Minsk, Podolia, Kishineff, with the bishops of Mohilef, Olonetz, Kalouga, and Novocherkask. The third class consists of the bishops of Smolensk, Nijni-Novgorod, Kursk, Vladimir, Vologda, Toula, Viatka, Archangel, Voronejee, Irkutsk, Kostroma, Tambof, Orel, Pultava, Volhynia, Perm, Penza, Saratof, the Ukraine, Orenburg, Simbirsk, Polotsk, Tomsk, the Aleutine Islands with Kamschatka and Russian America, Kherson, Wilna, Witepsk and Warsaw. The eight last-mentioned sees have been created since 1830. The Georgian hierarchy consists of the exarch or metropolitan of Signakish and Kisigsky, the archbishop of Gori (vicar to the exarch), the archbishop of Immeritia and the metropolitan of Mingrelia. The total number of prelates, including nine vicar bishops, is sixty-one.

The church property, which was formerly very considerable, has undergone many modifications. It was

* The metropolitan retains this title, though Galicia is now included in the Austrian empire. The ancient title was Metropolitan of Kief and all Russia, a style which was continued after the transfer of the see to Moscow, and even after the conquest of Kief by the Poles, till an independent Greek metropolitan was set up at Kief. The Muscovite prelate then assumed the designation of Metropolitan of Moscow and all Russia. Kief and the Greek church of Little Russia were restored to the patriarchate of Moscow at the close of the seventeenth century.

principally acquired from the donations of bishops and private benefactors, the chief assistance from the state having been the allotment of prisoners, convicts, and serfs, to bring the waste lands into cultivation. Ivan the Terrible passed a decree prohibiting the acquisition of any more lands without the royal license; but this restriction was practically of little avail, and the Czar Alexis was petitioned to resume a considerable number of estates attained, as was alleged, in violation of the law. At that time the church not only enjoyed the revenues of its property, but exercised jurisdiction, in all matters arising on its manors and property, in the patriarchal court. Alexis abolished this privilege by instituting a "Monastery Court," composed of lay members, to judge in civil suits against spiritual persons and in all questions of property, leaving to the patriarch the spiritual jurisdiction in questions of faith and discipline. Peter the Great invested this court with the administration of the ecclesiastical property, ordering a fixed allowance to be paid to the clergy, and the surpluses to be applied to imperial and charitable uses.

Some further changes took place in succeeding reigns, till the question was finally settled by a commission under Catherine II. The church property was then entirely removed from the spiritual administration, and vested in a department called the College of Economy. The serfs, who at that time amounted to 900,000 in number, were required to pay a capitation tax of one rouble fifty copeks, in lieu of their former contributions in kind, and the whole revenue was to be applied in paying the clergy, repairing the fabrics, establishing schools, and other pious uses. The parish clergy were released at the same time from some oppressive charges levied on them by the patriarch for the support of the seminaries.

The bishops were suffered to retain a little land, with their gardens and houses, but without serfs, and some additional allowances are paid them by the government, in addition to the ecclesiastical stipend received from the college. The payments are said to have been originally fixed on a liberal scale; but being now made in assignats instead of silver roubles*, they have undergone a depreciation of more than two-thirds, and are certainly far from extravagant. The metropolitan of St. Petersburg, including his stipend as head of the Lavra of St. Alexander Nevsky, receives a gross income of about 1400*l.* per annum; and those of Moscow and Kief something less. The bishops and archbishops of the second class receive a maximum of 700*l.* or 800*l.*; those of the third class about 500*l.* or 600*l.*; and some of the vicar bishops less than 250*l.*†

From these sums the diocesan prelates have to defray the table, firing, lodging, and equipage of the functionaries belonging to the see, together with their own personal retinue. The allowances for each, however, are very small, being as low as thirty shillings a year for a simple monk, and less than 20*l.* per annum for a secretary or chaplain. It will be borne in mind that the bishops and their attendants are all of the monastic order, and a monastery is usually appropriated for the episcopal residence. When a bishop is disabled from age or infirmity, he receives the emperor's permission to retire into a monastery, on a pension of from 180*l.* to 270*l.* per annum. This permission is occasionally granted without being solicited, and should the prelate decline the relief, he would be imprisoned by the secular arm. On a vacancy in a bishopric, the governing

* A silver rouble is equal to three and a half assignats.

† Blackmore's Translation of Mouravieff's History of the Church of Russia.

synod submits three names to the emperor, who decides on the person to be consecrated. The number, designation, and limits of the diocese are absolutely dependent on the imperial pleasure.

Each bishop has his consistory composed of three, four, or five members; and a number of *inspectors*, or rural deans, superintend the lower clergy. The average salary of the deans is from 20*l.* to 30*l.* a year. They report to the consistory, which advises the bishop on all questions, both of discipline and jurisdiction; the more important matters, such as divorces, being submitted to the governing synod before sentence. The monastic clergy, no less than the parochial, are subject to the authority of the bishop and his rural deans, with the exception of the monasteries called *stauropegial*, from being surmounted by a double cross, the ensign of patriarchal authority; these are dependent immediately on the governing synod. The three principal monasteries bear the title of *Lavras*, and are under the personal government of one of the great metropolitans. They are the Pechersky (or catacombs) at Kief, the St. Sergius (or Troitska) near Moscow, and the St. Alexander Nevsky at Petersburg.

The first is the most ancient in Russia, being founded by St. Anthony after the model of Mount Athos in Greece. Near its site the saint and his deluded followers built themselves into caves, which they had hollowed out in the banks of the Dnieper, and received their food by a small window, which was closed on their death, converting the cell into a tomb. About eighty bodies are still preserved in these catacombs, and forty more in those of St. Theodosius, a little further to the south. They are visited by pilgrims from all parts of Russia; even the frozen land of Kamschatka sends its wondering

savages to contemplate the birth-place of Russian devotion.

The monastery contains a number of churches, of which the principal is the cathedral dedicated by Vladimir to the Virgin. The interior is resplendent with gilding and painting. On the outside the seven cupolas are connected by chains of gold, and a superb belfry rises to an altitude of 300 feet. The whole is enclosed by fortified walls, including barracks, magazines, arsenals, and all the military appliances which impart so peculiar a character to many of the religious houses in Russia.

Another place of pilgrimage, scarcely less famous, is the Troitska or Trinity Lavra, founded in 1338 by St. Sergius, the author of monkery in Great Russia as St. Anthony was in the south. The church which the saint hewed out of the unbroken forest has been replaced by nine stately temples enclosed by an embattled wall a mile and a half in length, thirty feet high, and flanked by eight towers. A broad street of houses conducts to the convent, which is situated on an eminence, and crowned with eighty cupolas, glistening afar off in the sun. Behind its fortifications the nationality of Russia has more than once retreated and renewed its vigour. The sturdy monks resisted for sixteen months the siege of 30,000 Poles in 1609, and then rallying their patriot bands, headed the sally which expelled the invaders from the capital. It was here that Peter the Great struck his first bold blow for the empire. Hither also all the wealth of Moscow was conveyed, as into the national coffers, before the entry of Napoleon in 1812. In the fifteenth century this Lavra owned above 100,000 serfs, with an enormous amount of jewels, plate, and valuable moveables. Its archimandrite is the metropolitan of Moscow.

The Lavra of St. Alexander Nevsky is presided over in like manner by the metropolitan of St. Petersburg. It was founded by Peter the Great, who thought to recommend his new capital by transporting to it the remains of the great champion of the Neva. It contains a library of above 10,000 volumes, with a number of very valuable MSS.

The other convents, called *monastirs*, are governed by a superior called the archimandrite, and are divided into three classes; the first contains twenty-six houses, of which five are stauropegial, and two are dependent on the Iversky monastery on Mount Athos, which nominates both the superior and monks. The rest are under the bishop of the diocese. The second class contains fifty-five monasteries (two being stauropegial), and the third 103. The establishment of each house is prescribed by regulations, and consists in the first class of an archimandrite, vicar, bursar, eight priests, four deacons, and eighteen servitors. The second is allowed no vicar, six priests, four deacons, and eight servitors. The third has but four priests, two deacons, and four servitors; but limited as these numbers are, the actual inmates fall greatly short of the schedule. Besides the classified monasteries there are 121 smaller houses composed of a superior or prior, two priests, two deacons, and two servitors. These would appear to be more in favour with the devotees, and less with the authorities, since the number of monks in them is greatly in excess of the establishment, and the latter has, notwithstanding, been reduced by recent edicts. Lastly, the Polish provinces contain thirty-three monasteries not receiving any pecuniary allowance, but enjoying grants of land by means of which they sustain above 400 monks. Altogether there are nearly 400 monasteries and above

100 convents; they contain in all between six and seven thousand monks and 4000 nuns.

These figures exhibit a considerable falling off, as the result of the reforms introduced by the imperial regulations. The number of religious houses was twice as large in 1764, and their inmates were fully six times as many. Limited as are the prescribed establishments at present, the monasteries all exhibit a large deficiency; a result which is due perhaps in some degree to the increased demand for men in the active duties of life, arising from the extraordinary development of the empire, but which may also be partly caused by the poverty of the monks, some of whom have been reduced, under the imperial regulations, to primitive beggary. The stipend of an archimandrite of the first class is less than 30*l.* per annum, while the yearly allowance to a priest or deacon monk is under a pound sterling! A representation of the general distress being made to the Emperor Nicolas in 1830, an order was issued directing all inmates of religious houses under the legal age of profession to return to their secular callings, a remedy which would have probably extinguished the whole order in the next generation, by cutting off the supply of devotees. The president of the synod, however, represented to the Czar that the law had been duly observed in not admitting any one under the age of forty as a monk, or as a nun under fifty, but that both sexes were allowed to enter as *novices* at any age; and though at liberty to withdraw if they pleased, such persons could not be *compelled* to return to the world and renounce the religious life to which they desired to devote themselves. The ukase was accordingly rescinded, and measures have since been taken to improve the pecuniary condition of the clergy.

The monastic orders are all clothed in black, the head being covered with a tall, cylindrical cap furnished with a veil, and the figure with a long, full tunic, usually of black velvet. The sombre hue of their garments occasions them to be called the *black* clergy. The parochial priests are denominated by the opposite appellation of *white* clergy; white garments, however, are actually used only in Divine service, when they are varied by a number of gorgeous vestments embroidered with gold and coloured silks. The ordinary dress of a parish priest is a brown or purple cassock, buttoned from top to bottom, with an upper robe of the same colour, and a high cap of brown or red velvet trimmed with fur. Both the white and black clergy wear their hair and beards uncut, and have a cross suspended from the neck.

The usual name for a parish priest in the east is *pope*, a Greek word signifying father, and applied to all ecclesiastics indiscriminately, till an order of Gregory VII. confined its use to the Bishop of Rome. Some of the modern Russian clergy, objecting to this appellation, prefer to be called "father" in the vernacular language. Their pecuniary condition is worse than that of the monks, their sole provision arising from the surplice fees, which in country places do not exceed four or five pounds a year, with a wooden house and a little land, often cultivated by their own hands. At Petersburg, and perhaps in other large towns where the oblations of the congregation furnish an adequate income, the clergy are enabled to support a better position in society. As a body, however, they are both poor and ignorant. Many cannot read, but recite the service by heart, together with a chapter of the New

Testament and part of a homily, which they repeat without variation every Sunday and Friday. The little learning of the Russian church is confined to the monasteries.

The clergy are under the absolute authority of the bishops, who dispose of all preferments at their pleasure, and govern both black and white clergy on the despotical system so universal in Russia. A curate may be deprived of his preferment or reduced to an inferior order, and his children sent to beg their bread, without accusation or trial. A deep though concealed hostility to their superiors naturally reigns in the breasts of the lower ranks, and the distrust is mutually aggravated by the aversion invariably subsisting between a married and a celibate clergy.

The priestly classes are very little esteemed in general society, the bishops and dignitaries preserving the seclusion of the cloister, and the bulk of the clergy being unfitted for intercourse with the educated classes. It is a common jest to say, "Am I a priest, that I should dine twice over?" in allusion to their practice of hastening from a funeral feast to a christening banquet, in order to enjoy the liberality of their parishioners. These contributions usually protect the clergy from actual want, and their wives are said to enjoy the utmost indulgence, being essential to a cure of souls, and admitting of no successors. They live, however, almost entirely among the lower classes, from whom, and from themselves, the ministry is exclusively supplied. A nobleman or landed proprietor never dedicates a son to holy orders, and it is exceedingly rare for any of the higher classes to enter a monastery.

The parish clergy are so completely the associates of the peasantry, that if one should chance to prefer his

studies to their company he would be in great danger of losing his supplies. "Our priest is good for nothing," they exclaim; "he will not drink with us nor sing with us, and is as if he did not know us. If he is so proud, we will make our offerings to another."

As a natural consequence, the clergy enjoy little influence or consideration among their people; their presence exercises no restraint on drinking, swearing, or quarrelling; their advice is seldom asked; even the domestic chaplain of a nobleman is little consulted in family matters, and the peasant has more confidence in the picture of his saint than in the counsel of his priest. The general estimate of their moral conduct is deplorably low, and the common people esteem it a bad omen to meet a priest on a journey.

With all this lack of moral weight, it is surprising how much the priests are revered in their sacerdotal functions. The most extravagant titles are bestowed on the dignitaries in writing or speaking.* The laity kiss the hand of the priest at the close of the service; the same mark of respect is paid even by ladies when they receive a clerical visit at home. Still it is only with the saint in their hands that they are feared or respected. They are directors of religious ceremonies, not the interpreters of God's living word, or the counsellors and confidants of an inquiring people.

Of the ecclesiastical orders the poor nuns seem to fare the worst. Their choice is literally between digging and begging. They may be seen labouring in the fields belonging to the convents, or offering their work to travellers with piteous faces that tell a sad

* A metropolitan is addressed as "His most high Holiness, the most dear and gracious Lord, the Lord Archpastor"—in Russian, *Yewo Fuissokopieossuäshishentsvo Milostivüishu Gossudarsu Archipastuiru*, every syllable of which is rigidly exacted on the address of a letter

story of poverty and neglect. Their lighter employments are knitting and weaving stockings, girdles, and fabrics, or embroidering robes and hangings for the wealthier churches.

The Russian churches are constructed after the Byzantine or Greek order of architecture, of which the normal type is a cross, with four equal arms, surmounted by a dome at the intersection. The Russians add a cupola at each of the four extremities of the cross, and by enclosing the angles between the arms, the plan is reduced to a square building with a large cupola in the centre and four smaller ones at the sides. Sometimes this number is augmented; the cathedral of Novgorod is decorated with six cupolas, surrounding a grand central dome; and the Trinity church at Moscow is surmounted by nine or ten cupolas, with a high steeple in the midst. The cupolas and domes are covered with copper or iron plates, gilt, silvered, or painted green, azure, or some brilliant colour. On the top stands a tall gilt cross, usually fashioned with two transverse bars, of which the lower inclines from the horizontal line. Some have a crescent below the cross, which is said to be a memorial of the triumph of Christianity over the Mongol Islamites; but the crescent was a Greek ensign, adopted by the Mohammedans on the conquest of Constantinople, and may have originally accompanied Christianity into Russia. In the old churches the cross is commonly hung about with a network of gilt chains, to fasten it to the cupola. The latter is merely an architectural decoration, having no practical purpose: the bells (of which the Russians are traditionally passionately fond*) are suspended in a

* Bell-founding is an ancient art in Russia, but *bell-ringing* is still unknown. The bells are struck by pulling the tongue against the side, and without any idea of tune, all hammering together as if on a blacksmith's anvil.

detached tower called the *kolokolnik*, or bell-bearer. In the country a living oak is often made the belfry, and a whole chime is seen suspended on its boughs, as if the tree bore bells for its fruit. The churches are mostly of wood painted red. A few stone churches are found in the chief cities, but brick is more common even in Petersburg. The modern churches are more spacious and elegant than the old ones, and often embellished with a profusion of Corinthian columns at the entrances.

In the north of Russia the severity of the climate occasions the use of summer and winter churches; the latter being a low and dark ground-floor, and the former a kind of upper story with a more liberal supply of light and air.

The interior of the older churches is often narrow and dark, and further obstructed by the massive piers which sustain the central dome. These and the walls are covered from top to bottom with paintings of the Saviour, the Virgin, and saints, while from the central dome a huge, grey-headed man often looks down, designed to represent the Eternal Father.* Many of these figures are enormously large, and executed in the rudest manner. Descriptive pieces are occasionally met with of a superior class, and are made use of for the instruction of the multitudes who cannot read. The head of every figure is surrounded with a glory, sometimes embroidered in pearls, but more generally made of solid gold, silver, or brass, looking much like a

* The cupolas in the church of the Annunciation at Moscow are painted inside with numerous figures in fresco, amid which appears Satan himself, horned, hoofed, and tailed, with a spear in his right hand, and breathing out flame and smoke. Why this hideous figure is jumbled in with Abraham, Samson, Goliath, the prophets, apostles, and Jonah's fish, is perfectly incomprehensible

horseshoe. Garments studded with jewels are sometimes affixed to the paintings, leaving only the hands and face exposed.

The eastern division of the church, which answers to our chancel, is separated from the central dome by a screen called the *Iconostas*, being covered from top to bottom with paintings. In the centre of this screen are folding doors, termed *holy*, *royal*, and *beautiful*, with a smaller door on either side. A picture of the Saviour hangs on the right of the centre door, and one of the Virgin to the left, both having candles or lamps burning before them. Within the sanctuary stands the shrine*, containing the holy table under a canopy supported on pillars. A silver cross, a Bible adorned with gold and jewels†, and the receptacle for the consecrated bread, are laid on the table‡, and a dove is suspended over it as the symbol of the Holy Ghost.

The shrine (or *throne* as it is also called) stands on a carpet, which is sometimes extended through the screen doors to a platform outside, where certain parts of the service are performed. The choir is placed in front of the screen at the side.

The language of the Liturgy is the old Slavonic, which, though the mother-tongue of Russian and Polish, is not more intelligible to the people than Saxon or French would be in England. The same remark applies to the authorized version of the Scriptures, for, notwithstanding the appeal made by the Greek church

* The site of the altar is so sacred, that even if a church be removed, a stone is left on this spot with an inscription, and enclosed with a little wall. Such monuments may on no account be disturbed in laying out new streets.

† The cathedral of the Resurrection at Moscow contains a Bible, given by the mother of Peter the Great, so large and embossed with gold and jewels, that it is carried by two men.

‡ The cross is never erected, but laid flat on the table. It bears no image of the Saviour.

to the word of God, the circulation of the Bible in *Russian* is strictly forbidden.

The principal service is the celebration of the eucharist, which, when performed at full length, as in the monasteries, occupies three or four hours. In the ordinary churches it is generally much abridged. This service is opened by a deacon, who comes through one of the side doors of the screen, and raising the end of the stole or ribbon that hangs from his left shoulder, proclaims in a loud voice, "In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, divine service is beginning." A similar proclamation announces the name in which the bread is to be divided, as of the emperor, empress, or imperial house, the state, the military, the civil service, all orthodox Russians, or all Christian brethren. The deacon then brings out the huge Bible, holding it above his forehead, and after kissing it lays it upon the lectern before the royal doors. Then a lesson is read by one of the priests, gabbling it over with a rapidity which painfully contrasts with the slow and stately solemnity of the ceremonial portion. The reader frequently interrupts himself to exclaim *Gospodi pomilui!* (Lord, have mercy!) thirty or forty times in a breath. The same words are sung at intervals by the choir in a sweet and melodious cadence.

During the lesson the chief priest may be seen moving backward and forward at the altar, through a thin veil, which hangs over the open carved work of the royal doors. A psalm is then sung, during which the royal doors are opened, affording a full view of the sanctuary. A procession of priests emerges through the side doors, bearing the sacred vessels, and preceded by a deacon with a lighted taper. After a prayer for the imperial family, the priests return through the royal doors, sing-

ing *Ishe cheruvim*† to deposit the elements on the altar, where the chief priest kneeling repeats several prayers to himself. While these are proceeding, the deacon, again raising his stentorian voice, calls on unbelievers to depart, and if any Jews or Mohammedans happen to be present, they are obliged to withdraw. Then a long litany or supplication is read by the deacon, enumerating every member of the imperial family by name, and interspersed with the frequent response, *Gospodi pomolimsa* (We beseech thee to hear us, O Lord). Next a psalm is sung, while the chief priest advances to the screen; then the deacon presents the chalice first, and then the bread, which is shaken into the wine, requesting him to bless them. This "blessing," agreeably to the words of St. Paul*, is deemed the consecrating act; during its performance the doors are closed and the curtain dropped; as if the veil which was rent from the top to the bottom when the True Sacrifice was offered on the cross, had closed again before the eyes of those who are invited to commemorate and communicate in its benefits. After the blessing the royal doors are reopened; and the communicants being invited to approach in succession, they kneel three times, and crossing their hands on the breast, receive a morsel of bread steeped in the wine, which the priest takes out of the chalice and puts into their mouths with a silver spoon. The communicants severally kiss the chalice before retiring. Another long prayer, interrupted by singing, with a second lesson and the benediction, concludes the service; the latter is usually delivered by the oldest of the priests, his thin and feeble voice artistically contrasting in this concluding office with the deep, sonorous bass of the deacon

* 1 Cor. x. 16.

at other parts of the service. The congregation depart after kissing a cross, held by one of the priests for the purpose, and crossing themselves in the orthodox manner. The clergy have still the ceremonial of unvesting, which, with their mutual kissings, blessings, kneelings, and crossings, may occupy (especially if a bishop is officiating) half an hour more.

The entire service is performed by the clergy and the choir. The congregation have neither prayer-books, bibles, nor hymn-books in their hands, and do nothing but cross themselves, and touch the floor with their foreheads—a prostration practised by the highest ladies as rigidly as by the peasantry.

The portion of the service which seems to produce the deepest impression is the prayer for the emperor and his family; it is listened to with gestures of devotion almost equalling those which attend the elevation of the host in the church of Rome. In country churches, the lord of the estate and his family are added to the imperial catalogue. Everything in Russia seems to assume a national air; even in religion the nation asserts its pre-eminence. None of the apostles of Christianity are nearly so much revered as the Russian saints; for one Peter, Paul, or James, we meet with fifty Nicolases, Georges, and Alexanders.

Christmas and Easter are celebrated with peculiar rejoicings, the latter festival being especially welcome on account of the strictness of the preceding fast. Lent is preceded by eight days of carnival called the *butter week*, from a kind of pancake baked in butter which forms the favourite dish. During this week nothing is thought of but feasting and amusement. The common people revel in their favourite pastimes, drinking and swinging. Booths and wooden theatres spring up in

the streets ; mountains of ice are piled up, down which all classes delight to glide in little sledges shaped like ships. At Petersburg the emperor himself, with all the highest nobility, joins in the diversions. A great masked ball is given in the largest theatre, at which every respectably dressed person is admitted, and ladies far below the level of court society may there enjoy the honour of leaning on their sovereign's arm. The last days of butter week are given up to incessant revelry. The emperor and his retinue drive about in brilliant equipages, the public offices are closed, the theatres are open all day long, dancing continues from sunset to sunrise, and the common people are plunged in one round of unbroken intoxication.

Twelve o'clock strikes at night, and all is instantly arrested. The fast ensues with a strictness unequalled in any Roman Catholic country. The higher classes lay aside their jewels, ornaments, and exciting amusements; balls and plays give way to concerts and *tableaux vivants*. Flesh and fowl yield to fish, flavoured with vegetable oils, sauces, and wine, but the latter should be drunk only in small quantities, and as a cordial to support nature. Tea and coffee, with almond milk, mushrooms and cucumbers, oil and vinegar, succeed to the cakes and fat delicacies of butter week. Animal milk, eggs, butter, and even sugar, being refined by a mixture of animal substance, are forbidden. Among the burghers and peasants, no one thinks of touching flesh for the whole forty days; Wednesdays and Fridays are often observed by total abstinence till sunset. The poor live the whole seven weeks on salt herring, black bread, cucumbers, onions, mushrooms, and tea. Good Friday is a rigid fast to all but invalids and young children. The more devout attend church at

this season two or three times daily; the service, with its long standing, crossings, and kneelings, is protracted to an unusual length. The clergy suffer severely, and are often obliged to take cordials to keep them from fainting. Unhappily the brandy bottle is either not among the forbidden articles, or the prohibition is widely disregarded. The streets are as full of drunkenness during Lent as at other seasons; it is even probable that intoxication is promoted, in many cases, from the debility occasioned by want of food.

Palm Sunday brings a little relief in the shape of a child's festival, such as the Germans keep at Christmas. The streets are dressed with green branches, palm-boughs and twigs are blessed in the churches, and a number of juvenile diversions are permitted to break the solemnity. On Holy Thursday the people throng the churches armed with wax tapers, of which the consumption in Russia is enormous.* The poor take a pride in having them as thick as they can afford, and sometimes beautifully gilded. They are burned on Thursday evening, but extinguished on Good Friday, when a tabernacle or rude coffin is exhibited in the church, on the upper side of which is a painting of the Redeemer's body. This is visited by crowds; every one falling prostrate before it with marks of the deepest sorrow and devotion.

On Saturday night the churches are full by eleven o'clock, though still dark as the grave. The choir is silent, and not a priest is to be seen. The Bible, however, lies open on the lectern; and sometimes a peasant, who can manage to spell out a little Slavonian, will light his taper and read aloud from the sacred page till relieved by

* A common request to a friend about to travel, is to light a taper for the applicant at the shrine of some famous saint in the place he is to visit.

another. This edifying custom would be still more valuable if what is read were, as it professes to be, from a really *Russian Bible*. Shortly before midnight a procession of priests leaves the church clad in the sombre vestments of Lent, with a huge cross at their head, to which a lantern is affixed. After circumambulating the edifice in quest of Christ, they return arrayed in brilliant robes of cloth of gold. The church is suddenly illuminated, the royal doors of the iconostas fly open, and the joyful song bursts forth, *Christohs vosskress!* "Christ is risen!" The congregation light their tapers, responding, *Voyst venno vosskress*, "He is risen indeed."

The effect of this sudden transformation from mourning to joy is magical. Tears spring to the eyes as the priests go about the church with censers and benedictions; the bells burst out at the same moment in a joyous clamour, the public buildings are illuminated, and the guns of the fortress fire a salvo, while the choir repeat in strains of exquisite melody the words which expressed the joy and excitement of the first disciples at the resurrection tidings. The bishop kisses the priests, the priests embrace each other, and every one salutes his neighbour with the exclamation, "Christ is risen!" the reply being as before, "He is risen indeed." From mouth to mouth this greeting passes through fifty millions of Christians; no Russian of any rank would omit it, whomsoever he happened to meet. The emperor repeats it with a paternal embrace to the sentinel on guard at his gate. Happy Russia! if the exchange of these touching words could be taken as denoting a real experience of the power of His resurrection, through "being dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord!" *

This picturesque and dramatic Easter, however, is the beginning of a second week of carnival, which a warm partisan is obliged to describe as "even more delirious than that which held its brief reign before Lent."* The streets are again encumbered with reeling, lawless, and prostrate drunkards. In place of the purifying effects to be expected from such a Lent and Easter, the sow that had been washed is seen returning to her wallowing in the mire. Another proof is thus afforded that no outward ordinance, however touching, can avail to convert or sanctify the soul. "The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked." It consents readily to a religion of forms and seasons; it can delight in sentimental humiliations and dramatic representations of peace. But its guilt can only be taken away by the offering of Jesus Christ "once for all" applied to the contrite spirit by faith. The blood of the cross only can "purge the conscience from dead works to serve the living God;" and it is only when the sinner has thus attained his peace with God through Christ that "the love of God is shed abroad in the heart by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us."† "He will speak peace unto his people, and to his saints: but let them not turn again to folly." ‡

No genuine Russian enjoys his Easter breakfast till it has been blessed by the priest; hence the singular spectacle is presented of long rows of dishes placed in the churches as early as three in the morning. The priest passes along, sprinkling holy water on flowers and food, and is often recalled by a cry from some one who has been overlooked of "Father dear, my Easter

* Six Years' Travel in Russia, by an English Lady.

† Rom. vi. 5.

‡ Psalm lxxxv. 8.

dish has got no blessing!" The dishes deemed indispensable to the season are *pashka* and *kulitshe*; the former being a pyramid of hard curds, and the latter a white loaf dressed with palm-twigs and plums. Both are usually decorated with flowers and wax lights. Eggs painted and coloured are interchanged as an important part in the Easter salutations.

The Russian church⁶ acknowledges with the rest of the Greek communion the seven sacraments of baptism, chrism (or anointing the baptized), orders, confession, the Lord's supper, marriage, and extreme unction. Prayers for the dead are used, but the papal doctrine of supererogatory merit, with its train of indulgences and obituary masses, is rejected.

Baptism is administered to infants, and by trine immersion; it is followed immediately by chrism (the administration of which is not limited, like our confirmation, to the episcopal order), and by the Lord's supper. Little or no spiritual instruction accompanies any of these ordinances. As in other episcopal churches, the bishops only are qualified to bestow the orders of priests and deacons. Confession is required to be attended by mutual reconciliation, and is then followed by priestly absolution; but the direction of the conscience⁷ is not claimed to the priest as in the church of Rome, and works of penance seem to be rarely enjoined. No people, indeed, seem to be less under the influence of the priesthood *out of church*. On the contrary, the clergy are subordinated, like all other classes of society, to the paramount rule of the emperor and the national custom.

Marriage is celebrated with a number of ceremonies, among which the most conspicuous are the use of lighted tapers, and the placing of crowns on the heads

of the wedded pair. From this usage the service is commonly called the *coronation* of the parties.

The funeral service is preceded by a rite of fumigation and prayer, performed by the priest in the house immediately after death. The wealthier classes employ an inferior ecclesiastic to read the Gospels day and night, as long as the corpse remains in the house — a custom perhaps borrowed from the similar use of the Koran by the Mohammedans. The coffin is covered with crimson, white or blue, and, by those who can afford it, richly ornamented with gold or silver lacc. In the country the peasants often make use of the trunk of a tree, hollowed out like the canoe of their ancestors.

The bier is borne to the church, attended by lighted torches even at noonday — a custom said to be as old as Russian Christianity, and possibly as the heathenism which preceded it. As they move, the accompanying priests and choir chant short prayers for the repose of the soul. In the church the corpse and attendants are fumigated with incense and sprinkled with holy water. The rest of the office consists of prayers for the departed, with psalms and hymns, of which the following is copied as a specimen :—

“Draw near, my brethren ; let us ascribe glory to God, and take our last embrace of our departed brother, who, no longer occupied with the vanities or the cares of life, hath left his kindred, and draweth near unto the tomb.

May the Lord rest his soul !

Every profane link with life and its vanities is severed ; the spirit hath left its temple ; the clay is disfigured ; the vessel is broken ; we bear unto the tomb a motionless, speechless, senseless corpse.

May the Lord rest his soul !

What is life ? A flower, a vapour, the dew of the morning.

Draw near, then, and let us attentively contemplate the dead! Where is now the graceful form? Where now the sparkling eye? — the rose-tint on the cheek? All, all are withered; like the green herb, they have vanished from our sight. Come, let us fall down with tearful eye before Christ our Saviour!

What wailing and sorrow, what tears of anguish, when the soul is torn from the body! Hades and the bottomless pit yawn around. Life is but a passing shadow — a dream of folly, the ungrateful toil of all transitory things.

Fly, then, from the contamination of the world. Lay hold on heaven. Draw near, brethren, and behold the dust and ashes of which we are made. Whither are we bound? Whence our destiny? Be he poor, or be he rich, master or servant, all, all are but ashes.

The glory of man passeth away. The flower of youth is gathered by death. All are swallowed up by the grave. All things earthly are but vanity.

During the singing of the hymn the *aspasmos*, or last kiss, is imprinted by the relatives in succession on the open face of the deceased. The coffin is then borne to the grave, where earth and *holy oil* are cast upon it, accompanied by the words: "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof; the round world, and they that dwell therein." A doxology and benediction conclude the service; but it is almost invariably followed by another unauthorized observance, apparently of heathen or Mohammedan origin, called the *koutie-ya*, or funeral dish. This is composed of rice, raisins, and honey, of which each guest is expected to take three spoonfuls on entering the house, repeating an ejaculation for the soul of the deceased.*

Many other superstitions connected with the dead are probably relics of similar origin. During Suwaroff's campaign in Italy, his soldiers were encouraged to the

field by an assurance, which the general never scrupled to repeat, that those who fell would immediately rise again and enjoy the victory with their comrades!

The national church includes the court, the aristocracy, and the great majority of Russians and Kossacks; but in the mercantile and agricultural classes there are dissenters of various sects, whose numbers and tenets it is very difficult to ascertain. The clergy and public functionaries are both unwilling and unable to describe them, and the sectarians themselves are still less reluctant to invite observation. The law indeed professes to grant liberty of conscience in religion, and the Emperors Alexander and Nicolas, however hostile to political freedom, were sincerely desirous of seeing this great principle carried into effect. Still it is opposed both by the church and the government servants; the former from bigotry, and the latter from corruption. Protestants, Mussulmans, and Jews are seldom molested; but the native sects, the Greek Uniates, and the Roman Catholics, are often subjected to persecution, or purchase their exemption by bribing the authorities.

The largest and best known of the Russian sects, are the *Starowertzi* or "Old believers." They separated from the established church in consequence of the reforms introduced by the patriarch Nikon, and have remained apart in spite of the persecutions of Peter I., and the conciliatory exertions of later czars. Their position is more analogous to that of the Romanists in England than to any non-conforming Protestants. Their complaint is not that the church is insufficiently reformed, but that it should be reformed at all. Great exertions have been made in modern times to conciliate these "Old believers." The offensive epithet of *Ros-*

kolnik (or schismatic) has been abandoned, and many assurances given that every attention should be paid to their scruples; yet only a few have been won back to the establishment, and their submission is mixed with a considerable distrust of the national clergy.

Not long ago, the Starowertzi had as many as twenty-six monasteries, containing six or seven hundred monks, and an equal number of nuns. Several bishops also remained among them, and preserved a distinct succession of priests; but the measures resorted to by the authorities so diminished their numbers, that many congregations were reduced to accept the ministrations of fugitive priests from the national church.

About fifteen years ago, an Old believer who was a merchant of Moscow, having procured episcopal consecration from one of the Greek bishops in the Danubian provinces, established himself under the protection of the Austrian government in Galicia, where large numbers of the Greek Christians willingly received his ministrations. This prelate has since privately consecrated six bishops in different parts of Russia, whom he superintends as metropolitan. By these means a large number of priests have been ordained, and the Old believers have considerably increased in consequence: they are now computed at nine millions of souls.

They are divided into many subdivisions, all agreeing in the use of the old uncorrected church books, which is the distinctive feature of the denomination. Copies of these books, carefully transcribed by the monks and nuns, are diligently circulated in MS., but never printed.

In spite of their insubordination to authority, which in spiritual, no less than temporal matters, is in Russia a crime of the first magnitude, the Old believers seem

possessed of considerable influence with the government itself. In the discussion of every reform, the first question is, What will the Starowertzi say? They exhibit in fact the concentrated essence of the old Russian nationality, retaining more than any other class the peculiar feelings and manners which influence the whole Slavonic race. The beard, the ancient costume, the legends, and the habitations of their ancestors are rigorously preserved. This contempt of modern civilization is by no means the result of ignorance, for almost all can read and write, though despising the Russian alphabet, and using only the old Slavonic letters. They are said to be more honest than other peasants, well acquainted with the Scripture, and eager to engage in religious controversies. Some have traced a resemblance between their character and that of the Scotch; by others they have been designated the *Quakers* of Russia; but the inquiries of the traveller* who appears to have most closely investigated the condition of the sects, describes them as in a very low state of religious intelligence. Affirming the Bible to be the word of God, and all Christians to be bound by the declaration of Christ that he came not to destroy the law but to fulfil it, the Old believers quote the nineteenth chapter of Leviticus as an explanation of the ten commandments, and the 27th verse as a Divine law against shaving the beard. This exposition they support from the tradition of the church, and from the pictures of Christ and the saints, all of whom, they observe, are depicted with beards.

A very remarkable concourse is annually held at Easter in the great square of the Kremlin at Moscow, for the discussion of religious questions, at which neither

* Harthausen.

ecclesiastics nor police are present, but the whole is carried on among the people, and with the greatest order and propriety. In this assembly an Old believer was heard to argue against a visible church and material temples, because Christ had said that his disciples were to be "living churches." He proceeded to cite 1 Cor. xi. 27 as absolutely prohibiting the reception of the Lord's supper, since every one is unworthy save at the moment of death, when his guardian angel will administer the sacrament himself.* He denied the value of bishops and priests, as being sinners like other men, and warmly inveighed against making the sign of the cross with the first three fingers.

This is a great point with the Old believers, as with Nikon himself and the national church to this day. The latter in making the sign of the cross, and in pronouncing the benediction, extend the first three fingers of the right hand, keeping the others folded back in the palm. This is the Greek practice restored by Nikon. The Old believers adhere rigidly to the previous usage of the Russian church, by which the index and middle fingers only were extended, in token of the double nature of Christ, while the thumb was joined beneath them to the other two, as a symbol of the Trinity.

The pronunciation of the name of Jesus, the double alleluia, and the manner of walking round the church in procession, are further causes of quarrel with the national church; but there seems to be little

* An anecdote of a scarcely more preposterous character is related by M. Harthausen. A soldier refused to take the oath of allegiance to the emperor because he wore a three-cornered hat, sword, and uniform like other officers. He was quite ready to swear to the "true Czar," whose picture was in the holy books, with a crown on his head, an embroidered mantle on his shoulders, and a sceptre and globe in his hand.

difference in regard to doctrine, the sacraments, the fasts and feasts, or the constitution of the ministry. The Old believers, however, consider the national clergy as heretical, and refuse to avail themselves of their ministrations. With their characteristic horror of innovation, they reject the use of potatoes, which they declare to be the devil's fruit, and that which tempted Eve in Paradise. Smoking also is anathematized, on the ground of our Saviour's words in St. Mark vii. 20.

These "foolish and unlearned questions" would quickly disappear in the presence of a free, faithful preaching of the gospel of salvation through a crucified Redeemer. Even in the Russian church, preachers are occasionally found who secure the attention of thousands by their simple, affectionate exhortations; but the bulk of the clergy only seek to enforce the authority of the church, and are perpetually foiled by the dogged tenacity of their adversaries. If they could be persuaded to know nothing among their people but "Jesus Christ and him crucified"—to appeal to the conscience of their hearers by the inner power of the cross, rather than to their feelings by histrionic representations; if they would speak to them as to men dead in trespasses and sins, needing to be quickened by the Spirit of Christ, and guide them to nearer and more absorbing views of salvation; opening out, in all its large and loving freedom, the word which in these disputes is so trivially handled,—they might not only recover these poor ignorant dissentients to their church, but by God's good blessing win thousands of souls to Christ.

The Old believers abound most in Moscow, Tula, Siberia, the Ural districts, the government of Saratof, and among the Kossacks. One branch is called *Bezpo-*

porstschine, or priestless, because, rejecting the orders of the established clergy, and having none of their own, they consider themselves under a temporary deprivation of the sacraments, as if cast on a desert island. They are subdivided into various sects, distinguished by the names of their founders, as Philippists, Theodosians, Abakounians, &c. The Philippists refuse to take an oath, or use any name but the baptismal one. The Theodosians have neither sanctuary nor altars in their churches, though the screen with the pictures is retained against the east wall. They have separate churches also for women, which are served by readers and singers of their own sex.

Besides the Old believers, whose separation from the church was occasioned by her own internal reforms, there are several smaller sects, both of older and later origin, some of which are obviously the relics of heathen superstition.

Of this description are the *Morelstchiki*, or self-sacrificers, found in the northern provinces, Siberia, Saratof, &c. These fanatics having dug a deep trench in some retired spot and filled it with wood and straw, make a procession round it, and after kindling the fuel, cast themselves into the flames to the number of 100 persons at a time. This "baptism by fire" (as it is termed) has been witnessed by many spectators, but no one knows the meaning or object of the horrible rite.

Other sects distinguish themselves by mutilation and tortures without destroying life. The *Scoptzi* believe that Peter III. was a new emanation of Christ, and possessed the only genuine copy of the Bible: this he enclosed in the cupola of St. Andrew's church at Petersburg, and from it their own scriptures are transcribed. They deny both the Trinity and the

atonement, affirming that *the Christ* can never die, and that the body interred in the sepulchre was that of a soldier. They expect another manifestation of Christ, to make his entry into the Kremlin at Moscow, and begin the reign of the Scoptzi. They observe neither sabbath nor sacraments, save by partaking of a piece of bread consecrated by being enclosed in one of their tombs. They use a number of symbolical signs for mutual recognition, one of which is the placing a red handkerchief on the right knee and striking it with the right hand. Pictures of Peter III. are everywhere seen in this attitude. The sect is numerous, comprehending many of the silversmiths and money-changers in Petersburg, Moscow, Odessa, Riga, and other towns. They are ardent proselytizers, especially among the soldiers, whom they bribe with large sums of money, believing that to have made twelve converts confers the dignity of an apostle. In Orel and some other governments there are whole villages of these sectarians; but they are careful to conceal their religious peculiarities, being most obnoxious to the government, who are justly alarmed at their destructive proceedings.

Another sect called *Chlists*, or *flagellants*, is closely connected with the Scoptzi, and even supposed to be the same community. Both assemble in private meetings with the object of mortifying the body by scourging themselves with whips; but these assemblies are more than suspected of the foulest immorality. The *Chlists* pretend to have been instituted by Adam or Christ; the sect was revived by a prophetess named Martha in the reign of Alexis Michaelovitch. Their Easter festival is stained with rites of remarkable cruelty.

Another sect sentences its followers to perpetual silence: torture and death in the most cruel shapes

have been inflicted by the authorities without extracting a word. Several other kinds of voluntary martyrdom are practised by different fanatics, probably descended from the Gnostic heretics once prevalent in the east. One sect professes to worship the "glorified Redeemer:" the object thus entitled is the "holy napkin" on which the Saviour's face is supposed to have been miraculously imprinted. According to the popish legend, this miracle took place whilst our Lord was bearing his cross, the napkin being offered by a compassionate female, who received it back stamped with a transcript of his features.* The image is therefore that of the suffering Christ crowned with thorns. The Oriental fable relates that a certain emperor of Byzantium (according to the Armenians a king of Armenia) having formed a vehement desire to see the Lord in glory, he was pleased to appear in a dream, and leave an impression of his countenance behind on a sheet: consequently the Greek picture represents a face encircled with rays of heavenly glory. It is always a favourite icon: the enthusiasts adopt it to the exclusion of every other image and ceremony. They kneel before it, entranced in prayer and mystical contemplation, till they profess to be themselves transported to heavenly felicity.

Another ancient sect, called *Sabbatarians*, are rather Jews than Christians; they believe the law of Moses to be the only Divine revelation, expect Messiah, and, like the Sadducees of old, deny the resurrection. Among the common people they pass for sorcerers.

* As the legend was first told, the picture was called *verum icon*, the true image. The day appointed for its observance, being termed Veronica, was then mistaken for the name of a saint; after which, a further legend was invented of a woman so named to whom the napkin was given. This is the way in which facts, real or imaginary, are preserved by oral tradition.

Opinions are also found in Russia connected with the doctrines of the Western reformers. Some of these aim at a spiritual religion, independent of all forms and ceremonies; but their influence is hardly perceptible on the community at large, and the professors are divided into parties acknowledging no mutual relations.

The two principal denominations are the *Malakani*, or "milk eaters," and the *Douchoborzi*, or "spirit wrestlers." The former, so called from indulging in milk on fast days, style themselves "true Christians," and are said to have originated with a Prussian prisoner of war, who, having acquired the Russian language, settled in the government of Kharkoff. Their creed approximates to that of orthodox Protestants in the rest of Europe. It includes the confession of the Holy Trinity, the incarnation of the Son, the atonement of the cross, and the gift of the Holy Ghost, through the mediation of Christ. It proclaims the inspired word of God to be the only rule of faith, and the Catholic church to consist of all who are joined to Christ by faith, and led by the Holy Spirit in newness of life. They acknowledge the moral law of God contained in the ten commandments as the great rule of practice, understanding the second to prohibit all images of God, painted as well as graven; the third to forbid any kind of oath; the fourth as enjoining the observance of the Lord's day, which they celebrate with prayer, singing, and reading the Bible. The fifth commandment is interpreted to include obedience to the Czar; the sixth as not opposed to capital punishment or lawful wars, but including spiritual murder, or that which is injurious to the soul, no less than bodily injuries. A similar spiritual extension is given to the remaining

commandments, and all are summed up in the two precepts to love God and our neighbour. They reckon seven sacraments, like the national church, but consider them to be spiritual acts unconnected with any outward rite. Thus the purification of the soul by faith is the true baptism, and water is unnecessary; the Lord's supper is only a commemorative ceremony, not requisite to true communion. They practise neither confirmation nor confession, save of mutual offences, as commanded in James v. 16. They acknowledge no other bishop or priest than Christ, but confide the direction of their religious duties to elders chosen from among themselves. Marriage is solemnized publicly by prayer and consent of the parties, and is held to be indissoluble. Extreme unction is explained as a sign of the invisible anointing obtained through fervent prayer; visitors are accordingly sent to the sick to watch and pray with them, but the material oil is not employed.

Besides the sacraments thus spiritually explained, the Malakani acknowledge no other means of grace save the word of God and faith. They use no churches either of wood or stone, no invocation of saints nor prayers for the dead. Finally, while enjoining a strict observance of the moral law, they acknowledge that all their strength is in Christ by faith.

This sect is entirely confined to the peasantry, and not one in a thousand of its members can read or write. Their belief is sustained by oral tradition, hence among a people so imaginative as the Russians, it was hardly possible to escape the introduction of more objectionable tenets.

Some expect a millennium of their own sect to reign with Christ upon earth; and false prophets have

arisen, predicting time and place with very lamentable results. A similar regard for literal interpretations of Scripture has converted some villages into an asylum for criminals, after the Jewish ordinance. By others Napoleon Bonaparte was thought the lion of the valley of Jehoshaphat, come to dethrone the false emperor, and give the crown to the genuine "White Czar." Under the influence of this delusion, a deputation in white garments was actually sent to welcome that ruthless invader of their country. Amid all these errors of judgment the Malakani seem to be a pious and peaceable persuasion, and might probably be easily educated into sound scriptural views.

Of a widely different character is the sect denominated *Spirit Wrestlers*, a name invented by the clergy to indicate their opposition to the Spirit of God, but accepted by themselves in the contrary sense of striving for the Holy Ghost. The common people term them Freemasons. Their views are involved in mysticism throughout, including the Sabellian explanation of the Trinity, with a variety of philosophical speculations upon the soul, which are partly gnostical. The scriptural account of the fall of Adam is explained as a symbolical representation, implying a deterioration of the memory, reason, and will. The doctrine of original sin is denied. In like manner, the incarnation is expounded, not as a literal fact, but as the Christ or Word of God imparted to the soul of Jesus, which when imparted to others makes them also the sons of God. Hence they require a profession of belief in the "Christ born in ourselves," but esteem the "historical Christ" of little importance. They profess themselves to be the exclusive temples of Christ, and speak of his presence within them much as the Brahman does of his own union with the Infinite :

the passions are thereby extinguished, sin is impossible, and the believer is himself both Christ and God.

This sect has neither churches, priests, nor ritual. The walls of their houses are devoid of pictures and crucifixes. They keep no sabbaths, Sundays, nor church holidays: on certain days of their own, however, they assemble round a table on which bread and salt are placed, and after reciting portions of a psalm or some other passages of Scripture, salute each other in succession with an embrace and three profound bows, in token of respect to the Divine spirit within. In some communities, a young man dressed in white is placed on an altar, and worshipped by the congregation as the visible symbol of the Divinity.

The Douchoborzi have no general organization or head, though different leaders have attained to more or less pre-eminence. Of these the most remarkable was a serf, named Kapoustin, who beginning as a prophet among the Malakani, adopted Douchoborzi views, and became the leader of a colony in the government of Tamboff. He taught that God, who was first incarnate in Jesus Christ, continued to be born again in different chosen men to the end of the world, affirming himself to be then the Christ. He required his disciples to worship him on their knees, and actually reigned over four or five thousand of deluded creatures as their prophet-king. He established a council of thirty, twelve of whom were called apostles. A law was promulgated, that whoever denied his God should be put to death; and a secret inquisition was appointed for the trial of offenders. In the course of two years, 400 individuals mysteriously disappeared, some of whom were afterwards ascertained to have been interred alive, and others cruelly mutilated. Kapoustin was arrested and thrown

into prison by the imperial authorities in 1814; but being released on bail, he disappeared, and is supposed to have died in his retreat some years after. His son assumed his dignity, but proved unable to carry on the system. The secret atrocities began to transpire; a government inquiry took place, and the Emperor Alexander transported the whole colony (with the exception of those who chose to return within the pale of the church) across the Caucasus, where they were subjected to the most rigorous supervision. The investigation brought to light a course of secret orgies practised by these rude mystics, which might almost parallel the abominable rites of Siva. Similar impurities are known to have accompanied the high-sounding theories of the ancient Gnostics; and a singular proof of the identity of human nature, as well as an awful evidence of its depravity, is furnished by their reproduction in the present day, under circumstances so widely differing as those of the Russian peasantry.

The Russian sects were estimated at nearly 200 in number at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Since that time a considerable portion have been extinguished, but others have arisen instead, implying, independently of the Roman Catholics, Lutherans, and other foreign confessions, no little variety of religious opinion in the bosom of the national church. It must not be supposed, however, that these differences affect the external unity or influence of the church to the same extent as similar diversities in a country where liberty of conscience is recognised. The Russian church, by accepting the yoke of an absolute unmitigated Erastianism, has purchased to itself the entire weight of a despotic government, along with the unreflecting submission of the most servile nation in Europe. Every-

thing condemned by the orthodox church is deemed an offence against the order and tranquillity of the realm : her laws have the sanction of God, and whoever disobeys them is a rebel against his Maker. Such are the maxims of imperial legislation ; accordingly, a severe penalty is imposed on every exercise of religious independence. Certain acknowledged communities are tolerated, but the individual sectarian can only escape punishment by concealing his convictions. Even the Old believers, who enjoy a peculiar license on account of their conservative tendencies, feel the hand of persecution the moment they become troublesome, while other dissenters rarely venture to acknowledge themselves.

The sects therefore exist within the church instead of without it ; a sort of schism which, however favourable to *uniformity*, is the most destructive of any to religious *unity*. The Russian church overshadows the land with an appearance of unquestioned authority ; but a worm is secretly gnawing at her heart, which sooner or later must seriously affect her influence. The flood of knowledge has been long rising round the ramparts of the empire, and is beginning to distil into its interior. The authorities having relaxed somewhat of the ancient severity, more than a hundred thousand copies of evangelical tracts are already in circulation. The priests, though watchful and jealous, are being drawn into the movement. The holy synod has begun to publish its own tracts at prices varying from two to five copeks. The peasantry are everywhere learning to read. Many of the nobility are forward in establishing village schools on their estates ; and the cottagers are seen at home on Sundays, studying the way of eternal life, in place of wasting the day of rest in dissolute and profane debauchery. These encouraging symptoms

extend even to the army; officers with their men, and soldiers with the peasantry, have been seen learning together the way of salvation through the Redeemer's blood and the renewing power of the Holy Ghost.

Such a work must needs go forward and enlarge itself. It will soon produce questions of a higher order than any which the priests have yet had to encounter. When the great cry of the awakened conscience shall be heard, "What must I do to be saved?" it will behove the Russian clergy to consider how they are prepared to answer it. If they neglect or foolishly endeavour to suppress the awakening, dissent will assume a new form and an irresistible power in Russia. If the church, on the other hand, will trust herself to her professed standard of Holy Scripture, and answer the inquiring sinner, "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved," she may, under God, be privileged to gather the rising streams of spiritual life into her own pastures. In place of her present gorgeous array of vestment and ritual, which cannot hide her nakedness, she will be clothed with the wrought gold of a Saviour's righteousness, and be found "all glorious within.'

CHAPTER VII.

THE STATE.

Patriarchal Government Asiatic, not European — The Czar the sole Institution — Security for Life and Property — English Constitution — Open Bible best Political Qualification — Prince Dolgoroukow — Seeschass — Tartar Origin — Primitive Polity — Varangian Princes — Four Classes : *Droujinki*, Burghers, rural Population, Slaves — Ivan III. — States-General — Three Orders — Peter I. — Ukase — Alexander I. — Council of the Empire — Ministries — Tschin — Provincial Governments — Administration of Justice — No legal Profession — Salaries — District Court — Tribunal of the Province — Senate — Procurator — Appeals — Commission of Requests — Ten Stages — Emperor decides — Bribery — Patronage — Court of Conscience — Habeas Corpus — Martial Law — Sale of Serfs — Political Police — Exile — Inhumanity of Nicolas — Political Confessors — Exactions in the Provinces — Nobility — Velvet Book — Titles — Privileges — Little Russia — Prospects — Army and Navy — Middle Classes — Municipal Rights — Arbitrary Interference — Attempted Reform — Trade and Manufactures — Fairs — Rural Classes — Serfdom — Recent Origin — Progress — Attempts at Emancipation — Alexander I. — Nicolas — *Obrok* — *Corvée* — Present Emperor — Manifesto, 3rd March, 1861 — Abstract — *Remarks*.

THE celebrated saying of Napoleon I., "The State is myself," was never so applicable to any part of Europe as it is, in the middle of the nineteenth century, to the vast Russian empire. The emperor is the only living institution. In describing his government as an absolute despotic monarchy, the language is too feeble to convey to an English mind any adequate conception of the arbitrary, irresponsible power exercised over every individual, at all moments, and in the minutest details of private and social life. Russia has laws, tribunals, and administrative departments like the other countries of Europe, but she has a power beyond and above them all, operating with a distinct, tremendous

action of its own, which acknowledges no responsibility to any human being.

No country is richer in laws, ordinances, and regulations of every description. The Russian code is, perhaps, the most voluminous in the world; it fills fifteen large volumes, to which every year adds a supplement. To revise and consolidate these laws has been a favourite occupation at different eras. Yaroslav, and Ivan IV., and Alexis, and Peter I., and Catherine II., and Nicolas, all issued their legislative codes. But Russian legislation is distinguished by two features, which, in European estimation, amount to the abrogation of law altogether. The first is that the sovereign is the sole law-maker, and can at any moment repeal, or vary, provisions which have no authority but as expressing his own mind. The second is that the reigning Czar is above the law altogether; this is enacted as the first article in the Russian code, and it reduces the remainder to waste-paper. The life and property of every subject in the realm are at the emperor's disposal, just as an Ottoman sultan sends the bowstring to a pacha, or seizes the effects of a wealthy Jew.

In fact it is the Asiatic not the European idea of sovereignty which prevails in Russia; and extending to every department of social and private life, no less than the political, it neutralizes at once all pretensions to Western civilization. The institutions of the empire do not aim, as in the countries from which they profess to be copied, at fixing and regulating the action of the crown, but only at giving greater vigour and extent to the will of the reigning monarch. It is an oriental administration clothed in the names and forms of the west. The mere word of the emperor, executed by a secret police, consigns a Russian of whatever rank to exile or a dungeon, confiscates his goods, or cuts off his head; and

no tribunal can inquire, no minister is responsible, no ear but God's is ever allowed to receive a complaint.

This formidable power is not a political theory obsolete in practice, or rarely called into action. It is the ever-working and only vigorous principle of Russian administration; the power to which the subject addresses all his complaints, and from which alone redress and reform are expected. Russia has no parliament, no aristocracy, no enlightened church, no freedom of conscience or speech, no press, no public opinion. The CZAR is the one living, integral institution; the sole freeman amid seventy millions of slaves. Every public functionary, every bishop and parish priest, is removable at his sole pleasure; every government act professes to be the utterance of his will; every abuse exists under his personal sanction, and can only be corrected by his order. His personal agency is the centre spring of the whole system; when the Czar is mistaken or deceived, all goes wrong; when he is idle, all languishes; nothing can prosper until the Czar has both formed a proper judgment on the subject, and brought his orders to bear in the proper quarter.

Such tremendous power cannot really be wielded by any being, who is neither omniscient nor ubiquitous. The Czar, like his fellow-men, must receive information from others, and employ their services in the execution of his orders. In both respects he is dependent on those by whom he is surrounded. Nothing reaches his ear which they choose to keep back; no order is executed which it is their interest to suppress or prevent. Toil as he may, one man is no match against a million; and Russia is described by one of its ancient princes as "the land of official and organized lying."*

* Prince Dolgoroukow.

The reports of the public functionaries, from the lowest police officer up to the president of the council, are known to be false. The emperor has recourse to a separate commission for receiving complaints, to a secret police under his own orders, and even to opening letters at the post-office in order to detect abuses. These are his private checks on the public administration; and all are ineffectual. If any one is bold enough to address a complaint to the commission for petitions, it is either suppressed by the secretary, or handed over to the inculpatated department to report upon. The political police creates more wrong than it detects; it alarms the emperor with conspiracies which never existed, and calms his just suspicions by assuring him that notorious offenders are the victims of calumny. As for opening letters, it is obvious that none will reach the imperial cabinet but those which a post-office, schooled in treachery, may think fit to submit. The postmaster is more likely to serve himself than his master. A free press, which exists by revealing abuses, would indeed discover everything; but so general an illumination is less acceptable to a czar than darkness itself.

Similar difficulties beset the execution of the emperor's orders. When framed and issued, they are entrusted to the stipendiary members of a huge public service, every one of whom is appointed, removed, and promoted at pleasure. No independent judges, no unpaid or elective magistrates, exist: this is only natural, when it is not the nation's law but the sovereign's pleasure that has to be executed. These functionaries live by corruption and intrigue, and are sheltered from accusation by the universal horror of publicity. The malversations of office are so no-

torious, that the emperor is continually invoked to interfere in person against the authority exercised in his name. Yet he can only interfere through the agency of some of the offenders themselves. To meet the necessity, he should go about in disguise, like the Caliph of Bagdad, and play the eavesdropper to hear what is thought of his government, or how his orders are administered.

Such is the "patriarchal" form of government. The sovereign is the single institution, — every one invokes, every one blames the Sultan or Czar; but the Sultan or Czar is in the hands of an army of *viziers* and *pachas*, who pursue their own advantage, and say, "It is the imperial will." When the oppression waxes intolerable, some one has recourse to a revolution: the imperial palace is invaded; treason enacts its bloody work, and "Amurath an Amurath succeeds." Still the new Czar is as fallible and as impotent as his predecessor. There can be no security for life and property, not to speak of political freedom, without a legislation based on the claims of the subject; without public tribunals independent of the executive power; without liberty to circulate the expression of the people's wants, and to use the common intelligence for their supply.

These are the admitted elements of government in the civilized states of Europe; nations are safe and prosperous in proportion as these principles are realized under their respective constitutions. England is the freest, richest, and safest of all, because in her each has attained the fullest development. Her laws express the will of the nation, not of the sovereign. Her judges and magistrates execute them without fear, favour, or interference from the executive government.

All men are here equal in the eye of the law, and all are adjudicated upon in the light of day ; the people sustain in the jury-box what they have enacted in parliament. Finally, a free press diffuses not only the ever-increasing light of science and art, but the purer, steadier beams of religion and morality. The popular mind is corrected and enlightened by the organs which express it, and hence arises our invaluable *public opinion*, the only safe measure of a nation's liberties.

These happy relations are founded on the free circulation of the Holy Scriptures — God's blessed gift for the illumination of nations, no less than of churches and individual souls. An open Bible insures and regulates political reform. The truths which sanctify the heart improve the understanding and practice : encouraging a noble thirst for freedom, they uphold at the same time authority and law. The Czar would find no exercise of his tremendous power better calculated to restrain the abuses which impede its action, or to advance the reforms he has at heart, than to circulate the Bible in all the languages of his empire, and teach his subjects to read it. He professes to hold his sceptre more absolutely than other kings from God. He is the only sovereign who habitually cites the Holy Scripture in public manifestoes. The church of which he is the earthly head appeals to it as the supreme rule of faith. Every Russian would receive the Bible with delight from the Czar. It is a gift peculiarly suited to their docility and intelligence of mind. In studying God's love in giving his dear Son to die for men, and in acquiring deeper views of grace, accompanied by a more experimental sense of peace with God through the blood of the Propitiation and the renewing power of the Holy Spirit, they would

be receiving the best qualification for political rights, together with the strongest safeguard against every abuse.

Two instances of recent occurrence may serve to illustrate the extent and minuteness of the imperial power as daily exercised in Russia. Prince Peter Dolgoroukow, a descendant of one of the appanaged princes of the line of Rurik, published at Paris in the year 1843 a pamphlet on the Russian constitution, which gave offence to the Emperor Nicolas. He was ordered to return to Russia, and on his arrival commanded to undertake a government office at Viatka. He declined, alleging the law which had released the nobility from their former obligations, and left them at liberty (as in other countries) to serve the crown or not at their pleasure. He was then sent into exile at Viatka, where he was placed under the rigid superintendence of the police. A report was current at Petersburg that he had been *flogged* by the emperor's order; this rumour, though untrue, shows what a nobleman was liable to, and what many, both men and *women*, actually suffered in that emperor's reign.

The other incident is of a less serious character. An English Protestant being desirous of marrying a Russian lady of the national faith, the clergy objected to solemnize the nuptials without the emperor's authority. The gentleman having a friend at court, the difficulty was mentioned at a favourable moment, and the emperor wrote his permission on the spot. It was then sent to the proper office to be registered, and despatched to the local authorities. The applicant was in bed in the middle of the night, when he was alarmed by a visit of the police, who ordered him to arise and dress himself; *a warrant had arrived from the emperor.* Siberia and the mines rose to the poor merchant's

imagination: some secret enemy had denounced him, and he was a lost man. The document was read, and, to his surprise and delight, turned out to be the marriage license. "*Seechass*," said the officer, "immediately." "Surely not in the middle of the night!" exclaimed the merchant. "It is ordered," was the brief reply, a phrase which in Russia closes all debate. Another party had been sent meanwhile for the bride. The priest was fetched with as little ceremony. The police escorted them to the church, and the imperial pleasure was obeyed — *seechass*!

The authority which thus intrudes itself into every relation of life is of Tartar, not Slavonic, origin. The tribes which inhabited Russia before the arrival of Rurik, lived under a half patriarchal, half republican, rule, the counterpart of which is still preserved in the rural communities termed *Mir*, and in the Hindu villages of British India. The towns were few, and only distinguished from the villages by a greater number of wooden huts, enclosed by palisades and an earthen rampart.* The eldest member was the head of the family; every other office was filled by election in the *vetché*, or general assembly, which formed the local legislature. The title of *kniáz*, or chief, which became hereditary in the race of Rurik as equivalent to "prince," previously denoted only military command; while *boyárd* (or noble) has never at any time been more than a personal designation. Rurik and his descendants were received as hereditary *kniáz*, and, surrounding themselves with a *droujina*, or armed force, held military occupation of the land. The internal administration, however, continued with the natives, as to a great extent it still does in India under the British

* The word *gorod*, a town, is contracted from *goroditc*, an enclosure.

government. The town *vetches* elected their *possadniks* and *tyssiatskoy*, and their authority was recognised in the neighbouring districts. The Varangian princes were military governors, but, so far from being sovereigns, they were not even exempt from removal. Their men-at-arms did not attain the position of an hereditary nobility, and the feudal system received no establishment in Russia. Appanages were assigned to the princes of the house of Rurik, but the law of lineal succession by primogeniture was not acknowledged; the princes removed from one appanage to another as they became the eldest of their stock, or as they could obtain possession on any other pretence.* The Grand Prince's authority was little better than nominal, and the great town corporations levied troops and extended their dominion like sovereign states more than municipalities. The population distributed itself into four classes, not including the clergy:—

1. The prince's retainers, *droujiniki*, or, as they were afterwards termed, the *sloujilyié lioudi*. These were, of course, in the appointment of the prince, who allotted their several functions, and, money being scarce, paid them by grants of land. This system continued in Russia down to the eighteenth century.

2. The inhabitants of the towns, who constituted the trading and manufacturing classes.

3. The rural population, partly small landed proprietors, partly farming the lands of the court retainers, and partly free labourers, who usually hired themselves for a year, and were wont to change situations at the Feast of St. George in the winter (26th November).

4. The slaves, of whom there were two classes, —

* The *boyards* and offices, in like manner, passed, without hesitation, from one prince to another.

prisoners of war (*rabby*), and bondmen, sold to pay their debts, or by voluntary agreement, for a term or for life.

No distinctions of birth or caste existed between the three first-mentioned classes. The trader or farmer freely entered the prince's service and obtained lands, and the children of the landowner engaged at pleasure in commerce or agriculture. When the Russian monarchy became consolidated under the Muscovite dynasty, Ivan III. introduced the imperial usages of the Byzantine court, and, to sustain them, converted the royal retainers into an hereditary nobility, every member of which was bound to serve the sovereign in any situation, civil or military, that he might be pleased to appoint: this obligation continued till the reign of Peter III., in 1762.

Ivan IV. has the merit of first assembling the *States-General*, which met at Moscow in 1549. They consisted of—1. The spiritual lords, the bishops and abbots of the first-class monasteries; 2. The house of boyards, divided into the three classes of boyard, okolnichyi, and doumnyié dvoriané; 3. Deputies elected by the clergy, landowners, merchants, and burghers. In the seventeenth century, the *strelitz* also sent their deputies to the States-General.

In such assemblies the legislative codes of Ivan IV., Alexis, and Catherine II. were promulgated. The States, however, were not consulted in the compilation; they attended only to register the decrees of the sovereign. With the exception of the first six years of Michael Romanoff's reign (1613-19), when they sat as a permanent legislature, they have been assembled only at intervals, and for purposes previously resolved upon by the crown.

The reforms of Peter the Great were carried into execution by imperial *ukase*, a practice which, with a single exception, has been maintained by all his successors. Catherine II. held the last assembly of the States-General, with the view of giving a more imposing air to a legislative code compiled by her order out of Montesquieu and other philosophical writers. The empress was not unwilling to be hailed as a lover of freedom of thought; but no sooner did the States begin to talk of the rights of the nobles, the emancipation of the serfs, and the powers of the crown, than they were prorogued, never to meet again. One of the deputies inquired whether the practice of issuing *ukases* was to be continued after the promulgation of the new code. "Undoubtedly," answered the minister. "Then our time is wasted in discussing these laws," said the deputy: the logic was irresistible. The States-General have never been troubled since.

Alexander I., in the earlier years of his reign, amused the public by talking of a constitution, and a scheme was framed by his orders on the English model, containing two legislative houses, one hereditary and one elective. The Minister of Police happening to converse with Speranski, the Secretary of State who prepared the draft, inquired what would be the result if, after the constitution had been adopted, the emperor should refuse to observe it. "I know," replied the secretary, "how little we can trust the emperor; but let him once promulgate this constitution, and he will have lost the power to violate it." The imprudent avowal was immediately reported to the emperor; the constitution was suppressed, and its author sent into exile.

The highest existing assembly in the state is the *Council of the Empire*, consisting of the members of

the imperial family, together with sixty-two veteran courtiers nominated by the Czar. In this assembly the Emperor Nicolas promulgated the code of 1833, re-issued in 1842, and again in 1847. The spirit of such legislation may be judged of by an article in the penal code, which makes it *treason* to overturn the emperor's bust, or to conceal the commission of so grave a crime by another.

The Council of the Empire, like the Privy Council in England, is invested with high judicial functions, but it contains neither "Judicial Committee," "Law Lords," nor any specially qualified members to expound and apply the law. In fact, *there is no legal profession* in Russia. The administration of justice is a branch of the political government, and subordinate to its views; the office of both being to execute the pleasure of the sovereign.

The business of government is divided into eleven ministries: the *Imperial Household, Foreign Affairs*, the *Interior or Home Department, War, Marine, Education, Finance, Justice, Audit or Control, Post Office*, and *Rail and Water Communication*. The ministers presiding over these departments are quite independent of their colleagues, each taking the emperor's pleasure on his own reports. A cabinet council is held weekly, and since the accession of the present emperor in presence of the sovereign. Still the ministry is without the common responsibility which forms the strength of an English administration.

The most singular institution in Russia is the *Tschin*, or office rank accorded to the servants of the crown, who are hence called the *Tschinofnik*. These are, in fact, the real aristocracy of the country; the nobles, apart from the offices they may hold, are nothing but landed proprietors. In England, the members of the

civil service are largely excluded from the elective franchise; in Russia (which is in so many points the antipodes of England), they are invested with the entire government and legislation. The whole public service, civil, military, and naval, is divided into fourteen grades (*tschin*), enjoying comparative rank with one another. A "chancellor," or minister holding the seals of a cabinet office, ranks with a field-marshal, or general-admiral; a privy counsellor with a general or admiral; a "councillor of college" (member of a board or tribunal) with a colonel or first captain in the navy; a secretary with a captain or lieutenant; and a registrar with an ensign or midshipman. All these grades confer the rank of nobility; those above the seventh—that is, all of the rank of a field officer—being hereditary nobles, and all below nobles for life. The *tschin* was, in fact, the original nobility, as in China and Turkey at this day. Under an Asiatic monarchy property is too insecure to form the basis of an aristocracy; the service of the crown is the only source of distinction and power, and property is the result instead of the qualification for office. In Russia the whole of the soil became inalienably annexed to the service of the crown; the landholders were all bound to serve in the grades allotted to them, and constituted the nobility. The rule, called *mestchinestvo*, by which no noble was obliged to accept office under another whose ancestors were of inferior official rank to his own, was abolished in 1682, as limiting too much the choice of the crown; but the nobles continuing to be influenced by its principle, Peter the Great determined to enlarge the area of selection by throwing the public service open to all persons, including foreigners whose assistance he especially required in his reforms. Still

the old nobility were not released from the hereditary obligation to serve when called upon, and were, consequently, still a part of the *tschin*. This obligation was cancelled by Peter III., and then first arose a nobility in Russia distinct from the government functionaries. In claiming his independence, however, a noble loses all voice and power in the state, and is reduced to a simple landowner.

The separation of the *tschin* from the nobility was widened by a regulation of Paul's, that all public servants should enter in the lowest grade, and rise through the intermediate steps to the highest. A single exception was allowed in the case of court chamberlains, but this exception was abolished by Alexander I. The *tschin* is now a huge privileged order, numbering six millions of persons, which overshadows every other class of society, and limits the autocrat himself in the choice of his counsellors and instruments. To hold a commission, or office of any kind, the candidate must have risen to the corresponding official grade. This is matter-of-course in the army and navy; the peculiarity is that no civilian, however distinguished by descent or merit, can fill high office in Russia, whether political or judicial, who has not stooped to pay court and service through all the inferior grades. The flattery, venality, and corruption which surround the base of the official pyramid are thus carefully carried up to the apex.*

* Without forgetting the maladministration of our own military stores in the Crimean war, it is still astounding to peruse the incidents brought to light by the Commission of Inquiry appointed in Russia. A depôt of 1800 cattle was reported to have been formed in the Crimea. The money for their purchase and feeding for several months was sanctioned; orders were passed in due course for the slaughter and salting, the money for the salt was charged and sanctioned, yet not one of these 1800 beasts ever had any existence! The mythical cattle brought in about eight guineas a piece to their ingenious inventors. On another occasion, the commissariat carried a dead bullock with the army for

The provinces are ruled by *governors-general* and *governors*, each like a little czar furnished with his "*Council of the Province*." In place of the division of labour and responsibility observed in civilized states, the Russian administration simply repeats itself on a smaller scale, as in the Chinese, Persian, and Turkish empires. Political unity is sought, not in the one life resulting to a well-compacted organization from the free growth of every limb, but in pulling the strings of many puppets from one centre. .

The administration of justice, being the department of sovereignty which demands the highest exercise of integrity, is naturally the most defective in Russia. Her mechanical system of government cannot enter into the complications arising in the wider spheres of human action, and is little calculated to inspire the confidence required to elucidate them. The rough and ready application of physical force is its single conception. Its basis is the *knout*, derived from the Tartars, and down to the year 1762 applied to all classes of society, without discrimination of rank or sex. Siberia and the mines are its only penal developments.

The capital error is that justice is everywhere subordinate to the political government. The Minister of Justice at Petersburg, or the provincial governor in the interior, exercises not only the superintendence of the tribunals, as in other European kingdoms, but is himself the principal judge, like a mandarin or a pacha. This results not only from the nature of the autocracy

some hundreds of miles, requiring a certificate of its decease at every station, and so charging the government with the cost several times over. On the retreat from the Danubian provinces, they represented that it was impossible to transport their enormous magazines of corn, and obtained an order to destroy them. In reality, none were in existence; but to satisfy the order they set fire to the granaries of some unhappy Moldavians.

he represents, but from the constitution of the tribunals themselves. Every province and district has its tribunals duly furnished with judges and secretaries; but there is no *legal profession*, and therefore no *advocates*. It is thought dangerous to extend the knowledge of the laws beyond the circle of the public service; for the same reason the proceedings are conducted with closed doors, and in writing. The superior authority must be able to revise the process, but the public is supposed to have no concern in the matter. This at once places the cause at the mercy of the functionaries. A suitor who cannot read or write, and is not allowed to employ an advocate, is in the hands of the secretary or registrar; and those officers are, consequently, of more importance than the judge.

The official salaries, too, of the judges and registrars, as of all other Russian functionaries, are miserably small, some as low as 16*l.* or 17*l.* a year, many not exceeding 30*l.*, out of which a uniform is to be provided. The remainder of their support is derived from presents, an Asiatic custom which Europeans term bribery. To accept a gift and decide accordingly, is no reproach to a Russian judge; he is censured only when he takes a gift and decides for the other party.*

In the year 1835 Prince Peter Oldenbourg founded, at his private expense, a school of justice which is said to have produced some eminent magistrates. With this exception, we are left to infer that the Russian judges are without any education for their special duties. The provincial judges are appointed by the nobles, as the highest are by the Czar; all are removable at the pleasure of the crown. Hence, in addition to the evils

* The superior police officer in one of the quarters of Petersburg is paid at the rate of 80*l.* per annum. He lives in a good house, keeps two or three pair of horses, and a number of servants, requiring at least 700*l.* per annum. His method of making both ends meet may be imagined.

of ignorance, poverty, and venality, the tribunals are at the beck and call of every influential personage. In such courts, justice can be only a name.

Suits are commenced in the *district court*, whence there is an appeal in all criminal cases, and in civil causes affecting more than 30 rubles, to the *tribunal of the province*. Over all is the *senate*, which is divided into committees or departments, sitting at Petersburg, Moscow, Warsaw, &c. Each has a *procurator*, appointed and removable by the Minister of Justice, and called the Eye of the Emperor.

In criminal proceedings inculpating a noble or capital burgess, and in civil suits exceeding 100*l.*, an appeal is granted to the proper department of the Senate. If the members here are not unanimous, or if the procurator dissents from their judgment, the question is remitted to the full Senate, where a majority is enough for a judgment; but if the procurator again be dissentient, a consultation must be held with the Minister of Justice, after which the latter sends his opinion on the matter to the full Senate. If the majority should differ from the minister (in whose hands it lies to dismiss a senator, or to remove him from one department to another), the case is sent to the Council of the Empire, first in committee, and then in full session of the members present at Petersburg. Finally, the decision of the Council, if not unanimous, is submitted to the emperor, who decides with the majority or the minority, according to his "good pleasure."

When the Senate is unanimous, and the *procurator*, in accordance with the law, declares the judgment to be final, no room is left for the intervention of the Minister of Justice. Still, in that case, a personal application to the emperor may be made through the Commission of

Requests, which, if supported by adequate influence, will be sent by the commission, in the emperor's name, to the Council of the Empire.

Sometimes the Senate finds a flaw in the proceedings, rendering it necessary to remit the case to the first tribunal, whence it may come up again three or four times, and at long intervals. Escaping this danger, the same cause may be carried through *ten* different stages*, and be decided at last by the good pleasure of the emperor. The emperor, of course, is bound by neither law nor precedent. "The heart of the Czar is in the hands of God: let him take the side to which it shall please the Almighty to direct him." Thus a drunkard, a madman, or a mere soldier, will decide in the last resort on the nicest points of equity or law, affecting vast estates, or disposing of some thousand of serfs.† Doubtless very few causes actually undergo the entire process. In any country the costs would be fatal long before such a gauntlet was run out; and Russia is pre-eminently the land of bribery. Often, too, the power of the purse is supplanted by the power of patronage, and the weaker side is then quickly put out of misery.‡

* 1. The District Court.

2. The Provincial Tribunal.

3. The Department of the Senate.

4. The Full Senate.

5. The Consultation.

6. The Minister of Justice.

7. The Full Senate again.

8. The Commission of Requests.

9. The Department of the Council of the Empire.

10. The Full Council.

† The tribunals all send in returns to the emperor annually in January. The Emperor Nicolas, once perceiving that several causes awaited the judgment of the Senate, ordered the Minister of Justice to reprimand the procurators for the delay. His majesty did not inquire, and his minister did not explain, that the time required by law for appealing not having expired, the Senate was not *authorized* to pronounce judgment in the causes referred to.

‡ Other means also are resorted to, to defeat the course of justice. A rich proprietor died, leaving two sons by different marriages. The elder caused

Frederick the Great was delighted when a miller, whom he wanted to despoil, told him "there were judges in Berlin." The autocrat of all the Russias need be under no apprehension of such a retort.

No greater satire on the judicial administration of Russia could be uttered, than is contained in the regulations of a tribunal bearing the high-sounding appellation of the "Court of Conscience." It is composed of a president, and two assessors chosen by the nobles, two by the merchants, and two by the peasants, to exercise a species of equitable jurisdiction. If any one petitions this court, setting forth that he has been detained in prison for three days without being accused and examined, it is empowered to order his instant production, together with the cause of his arrest. But this jurisdiction does not extend to *offences against the emperor, to high treason, murder, robbery, or theft*. In other words, the class of offences which incurs the heaviest penalties, and wherein the writ of *habeas corpus* is most required against the abuse of authority, are expressly excluded from the operation of the law.

In addition to these glaring defects in the ordinary

his infant brother to be registered as a *serf*, and took possession of the whole estate. A suit was subsequently instituted, which, having reached the Senate, the written proceedings were ordered to be sent up. As they were on the way, one of the post-houses *accidentally* caught fire, and the whole was consumed. The child would have been a slave for ever, but that the story reached the ears of a courtier, who took up his cause and aided him to obtain a judgment. In another case, the Governor-General of a southern province refused to execute the decree of the Senate, and no means were found to compel him. Another Governor-General suppressed a journal, and sent the editor to prison, ~~for~~ inserting an archaeological article which had passed the censor without objection. A third imprisoned a merchant for something said in the Municipal Council. The injured man complained to the Senate, which alone has the power to judge a governor. The accused, instead of answering the complaint, wrote to the Minister of Justice, who reprimanded the Senate for entertaining it; while the merchant received intimation from the police that if his complaint was not withdrawn, he should be ordered into exile without process or sentence.

process, Russian justice is encumbered by exceptional jurisdictions defying tribunals altogether. The great Duke of Wellington defined martial law to be the absence of all law but the will of the commanding officer. This definition strictly applies to the ordinary courts of Russia; the exceptional ones extend the privilege of the commander to every inferior agent. A duel with a military officer, a blow or an insult to a soldier, subjects a civilian to the military tribunal—that is, to the uncontrolled, irresponsible power of an illiterate Kossack or Tartar. It was only in the month of June 1860, that the emperor deprived the colonels of regiments of the power of inflicting corporal punishment *without the sentence of a court-martial*. It is not necessary, however, to come in collision with the military in order to fall under “martial law.” The Czar may order an extraordinary inquiry into any matter whatever; and its report, once confirmed by the emperor, is beyond the review of any tribunal.

In the year 1856, a proprietor, pressed for money, was about to sell his serfs, when the latter made up a considerable sum to avoid the necessity. The villain took their money, and then sold his estate together with the people. The serfs refusing to obey the purchaser, the case was considered one for special inquiry, and an aide-de-camp of the emperor was sent to conduct it. This man, wishing to please the purchaser, coolly made out a list of the most troublesome peasants, whom he desired the governor and council of the province to send to Siberia. Had these been ordinary Russian functionaries, the decree would have issued at once, and the innocent men would have been off to the mines the next day, without sentence or trial. The governor, however, refused to comply, and referred the case to

the Minister of the Interior, by whom the meditated injustice was arrested. Still the aide-de-camp incurred no censure, but was soon after promoted.

The engine by which the chief violations of justice and right are perpetrated is the *political police*, an establishment under the personal direction of the Czar and his minister, and whose acts, when sanctioned by imperial approval, are not impeachable before any tribunal. This institution owes its origin to Peter I., who set up a "secret chancery," which, though nominally abolished by Peter III., was continued, though with moderation, all through the reign of Catherine II., and revived in great vigour by Paul. Alexander I. again abolished it at his accession, but it was restored, under the name of the Political Police, by the Emperor Nicolas, who developed its terrible functions to the most enormous extent. A simple warrant from the emperor entitles this police to arrest, imprison, or carry into exile, any individual whatever, without trial or appeal. In the prisons the *knout*, and other descriptions of torture, are freely used under the same authority.

The *exile* is of various kinds; some are only ordered to a particular place, with no power of leaving it for twenty-four hours, and subjected to domiciliary visits from the police; other cases are visited with further severities. There are three gradations of exile to Siberia; the lowest is banishment to a specified town, with the loss of all civil rights; the next in degree is *colonization*, or being inscribed as a serf on one of the estates of the crown; and the highest is being condemned to the mines or other penal labours. Many of the Polish exiles, whose crime consisted in defending the liberties of their country against the lawless violence of Constantine, were sent to the mines, and made to

work with the felons, with irons on their legs. The Prince Roman Sangousko, one of those condemned to this inhuman penalty, belonged to one of the first families in Poland, and was heir to a vast estate, the whole of which was confiscated by a military court. When the decree was presented for the emperor's signature, Nicolas added with his own hand, "Let Sangousko be marched on foot as a felon, and in chains." The inhuman order was obeyed to the letter, and the unfortunate prince walked the whole way to Siberia, *chained in a gang of common malefactors.*

The inhumanity excited in the heart of this absolute monarch by the idea of resistance was fearfully manifested in the proceedings of 1826. Numbers of Russians, arrested on suspicion of belonging to the secret societies, were brought to Petersburg and cast into prison. From the fortress they were taken to the winter palace to be examined by the emperor in person. They were led into his presence with their hands tied behind their backs, and accosted with the most violent reproaches and menaces from his own lips. A commission of inquiry being ordered, the accused were thrust into dungeons, loaded with chains, and threatened with the rack to extort a confession. Promises of mercy were mingled with the threats to induce them to accuse one another. They were subjected singly to a rigorous interrogatory. The garrison surgeon was ordered to examine what degree of punishment might be inflicted without death coming to their release. On the report of the commission, they were at last arraigned before the high court, where the government was at once prosecutor and judge. No witnesses were examined, the alleged confessions were not even verified, but the prisoners received sentence on the spot to be sent to Siberia.

Some of these unfortunates were condemned to the mines, where they were made to work for a year in irons; they were then marched, by companies and in chains, to one of the government manufactories, after which they were *colonized* in different parts of Siberia, where they remained till released by death or the amnesty issued by the present emperor. Among the persons thus treated were several princes, general officers, and nobles. One of them, being discovered in an attempt to escape, was condemned to the knout, and strangled himself in his cell to escape the horrible penalty. The prisoners were compelled to work all the morning and confined during the night; they were only allowed to see their wives at intervals, at a prescribed place and time.

Several noble ladies followed their husbands into this terrible exile. The Princess Troubetskoi died there in 1854; the Princess Volkonski happily survived to return after the exile, and enjoy the reward of her devotion. All this time Nicolas was himself living in the enjoyment of every earthly happiness; a tender husband, a kind father, and a devout member of the Greek church; but, so hardening is the effect of arbitrary power, wholly insensible to the sufferings which his simple word was inflicting upon his fellow-creatures.

No relations are too confidential or too sacred for the intrusion of this relentless despotism. The Czar must reign not only in the words and actions of his subjects, but in their thoughts and very souls. Peter I. tortured his son's confessor to extract evidence for his destruction; and, to the disgrace of the nineteenth century, Nicolas was not ashamed to follow the detestable precedent. The Prince Dolgoroukow relates that his own confessor was employed as a political spy. In the performance

of an act which the Greek church pronounces a necessary duty of religion, sacred and inviolable, the confessor demanded if his penitent "loved the emperor." The prince, who had just returned from an arbitrary exile, knew too well who had inspired the question. He hesitated to reply; the demand was repeated, and after an inward struggle, the penitent, yielding to the temptation, replied in the affirmative. He has since confessed the falsehood before God and men, and implored their forgiveness that he had not courage to return to his exile.

In the provinces, the Governors-General are usually chosen from the intimate friends of the minister. *Governors* are men of less interest, and consequently less daring in their infractions of the law. Each is assisted by the Provincial Council, which has the right of recording minutes for submission to the Minister of the Interior, by whom they are appointed. The way to fill their own pockets, however, is to keep friends with the governor, and it is seldom that any division of sentiment arises. The Council is attended by a procurator, also nominated by the minister, to regulate and countersign its acts.

These Councils levy heavy fees from the provincial functionaries for all business transacted. An *ispravnik*, or county police-master, pays in this way an annual tax of about 200*l.* a-year; a town one (*gorodnitchyi*) according to the importance of the place; in a rich commercial port the fees will amount to 500*l.* a-year, independently of entertaining the functionaries of the province in their journeys. All these payments are of course re-exacted, with interest, from the shopkeepers and inhabitants. Often in the busy times of harvest or haymaking, the peasants of a village belonging to the

crown, or some non-resident proprietor, are disagreeably surprised by the arrival of an official (real or pretended), come to inquire into some alleged misdemeanor. He begins by summoning two or three of the most substantial persons to give evidence. Their time is precious; the process appears interminable; a few rubles are produced, and the special commissioner is induced to withdraw.

On one occasion the chief of police assembled the peasants of a crown village, and read an order pretending to proceed from the emperor, commanding them to transport to Petersburg one of those enormous blocks of granite with which the surface of Great Russia is sprinkled. The astonished serfs begged him to represent its prodigious weight, and procure a revocation of the decree. A sufficient *douceur* obtained the official's consent, and the stone remained undisturbed.

The exactions of this kind are innumerable, and can never be repressed in such a service. Neither emperor, minister, governor, nor inferior officer can ever read a tenth part of the papers he has to sign. To detect the impositions of six millions of people is utterly impossible. Till the unwieldy administration is decentralized, and the provinces entrusted with local governments and independent tribunals, no prospect of amendment can be indulged.

The Russian *nobility* is later in date and inferior in privilege to the titled classes in other parts of Europe. The oriental tendencies so strongly marked in the Slavonic nations were adverse to the formation of an aristocracy of birth or possessions. In Asiatic despotisms all are equal below the sovereign; slaves admit of few distinctions among themselves; it is only the service of the crown which bestows a temporary and

accidental pre-eminence. Hence, the feudal system could prevail little under the Varangian princes; the Muscovite dynasty reared its monarchy on the traditions of the Tartars.

The *boyards* were never an hereditary aristocracy; their importance was derived from their place in the royal favour, and the title was but for life. Hereditary rank in Russia dates from the decree of Ivan III., in the middle of the fifteenth century, and was only separated from the service of the crown as late as the year 1762.

The hereditary nobility were defined by Ivan IV. as follows:—

1st. The descendants of the ancient appanaged princes of the blood of Rurik.

2nd. The descendants of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania and some of the Tartar princes.

3rd. A portion of the *boyards* of the Grand Duchy of Moscow; and

4th. A few families distinguished by the favour of the Czar.

This roll, though extremely arbitrary and partial in its composition (many ancient families with all the boyards of the appanaged principalities being omitted), was re-copied in 1682, and, under the name of the *velvet-book*, remains deposited in the heraldic office of the Senate. At a later period the rank of nobles was given to the Georgian and Circassian princes, with some Mohammedan chiefs who had embraced Christianity, as well as to the three families allied to the reigning sovereigns of the seventeenth century, the Streschnew, Miloslavskoi, and Narishkin. These, with the families since ennobled by *ukase*, form the existing nobility of Russia.

The designations of *boyard*, *okolnitchyi*, and *dvoriané*, were changed by Peter the Great into the corresponding ones of *presidents*, *councillors*, and *senators*, implying still only an *official* rank, which was shared by those admitted to office from the non-hereditary classes. The German titles of *baron* and *count*, since used in addition to the ancient one of *prince*, carry with them no privilege whatever. A peerage like the British has never existed in Russia. The sole prerogative of the nobles, whether titled or untitled, is the power of owning landed estates, with serfs attached. Even this is not attended by the security of an English freeholder, while all their political privileges—apart from the service of the crown—do not equal those of a ten-pound householder in England.

It was only in the year 1762 that the nobles were declared exempt from the punishment of the lash; and it is believed that the secret chancery of Petersburg could still furnish evidence of that infamous torture being employed on *ladies* as well as men of rank, down to the present day. The nobles possess the right, conceded by Catherine II., of meeting every third year in their provincial assemblies; but only those in the *tschin* are permitted to vote. An estate of 9000 acres, or 100 male serfs, confers a personal vote. Others must appear by representatives, chosen in the proportion of one to every 9000 acres by the collective votes of those who possess, at least, five serfs or 450 acres. These assemblies elect a marshal to watch over the interests of the order. They also appoint the chief functionary of the administrative police in each district, and the judges and assessors of the provincial and district tribunals. They superintend the apportionment of the taxes, and may discuss all the affairs of the province generally.

These privileges, considerable in the enumeration, are, in fact, reduced to nothing by the prerogative of the crown. The marshal of the nobility in the province of Twer, so lately as December 1859, was deprived of his office and sent into exile for refusing to obey an order of the minister, contrary to the express provisions of the law.

The district judges are under the absolute control of the governor, who can even revise their judgments, and put them on trial for pronouncing them. His opinion goes with every appeal to the Senate, where his influence is considerable. The police authorities are in like manner at the mercy of the Provincial Councils, in which the nobility have no voice. Finally, their representations to the emperor on the general condition of the province are usually consigned to an unbroken slumber in the pigeon-holes of the Home Office.

Little Russia possessed no nobles before its annexation to the imperial crown in 1634. The government was a military republic, in which all classes were equal; and the humblest Kossack might aspire to the elective dignity of Hetman. Peter the Great, by introducing the *tschin* in 1722, raised the Little Russians who occupied public functions to the rank of nobles, and at the same time abolished the right of election to offices.

The Russian noble has but two courses of life open to him. The one is to enter the public service, and surrender himself to all the servility and corruption of the *tschin*, deserting his estates, and leading a life of court intrigue at the capital, in the hope of ascending to power and emolument by the autocrat's favour. The other is to consult his sense of duty and dignity by abandoning all thought of influencing public

affairs; to retire to his country mansion, and in silence and obscurity occupy himself with the improvement of his estates and the amelioration of the peasantry. If he chance to have a spirit that revolts from both alternatives,—if he would think, speak, and converse as a freeman, indulge the idea of progress, and urge his countrymen to deserve the respect of mankind, Russia is no place for him. He must travel, as so many do, in other lands; linger abroad as long as he can escape a recall; and then take his choice between returning to bondage, and purchasing independence by the sacrifice of his estates and his country. “A man must be a native of Russia,” says the Prince Dolgoroukow, “in order to write of its condition; but he must be far away from Russia before he dares publish what he has written.”

In Russia, as in other countries, the army and navy offer employment for the privileged classes, but present few peculiar features to require the attention of the general reader. The army, at the opening of the Crimean war, was composed of the following forces. 1. The Imperial Guard, consisting of 36 battalions of infantry, and 11 regiments of cavalry, with artillery, pioneers, and Kossacks, amounted in all to 41,200 men. 2. The infantry of the line numbered 138 regiments, giving 331,200 men, and garrison troops 104,032 in addition. 3. The cavalry, containing 20 regiments of cuirassiers, and 64 of hussars and light dragoons, numbered 20,000 heavy, and 64,000 light horse. 4. The artillery mustered 40,000, and the engineers 10,500: making a grand total of 611,000 Regular troops, according to the official complement. The Irregular troops, not accounted in the standing army, yielded a total of 100,000 Kossacks from the different districts of the empire.

The navy was divided into five squadrons; two in

the Black Sea, and three in the Baltic. The latter are supposed to be always complete, and ready for service. Each squadron consisted of nine ships of the line carrying 742 guns, six frigates, and some lighter vessels. The force was augmented by the galley fleet of the Baltic, the gunboats in the Black Sea, a flotilla on the Caspian, and another in the Gulf of Okhotsk; making the total armament 33,000 sailors, 9000 marines, and 3000 artillerymen. The navy is believed to have been greatly augmented since the date of these returns.

It remains to consider the Middle and Lower classes — in other words, the bulk of the nation. In a political sense, Russia may be said to have no middle class: none, that is, with any voice in the government or the church; none with the vestige of a political franchise; none to be appealed to, as in other European states, in the natural struggle between the crown and the nobles, and by alternately aiding each, to develop a solid and enlightened liberty. In point of fact, however, Russia is not without the classes which form the third estate in other lands, though their growth and importance have been repressed by the effects of arbitrary power. The free farmers and labourers have altogether disappeared; the existing landowners are all accounted “noble;” though the estates of the majority are below those of English gentry, and numbers would be classed with our yeomanry. The professional classes are also wanting; and it is only in the towns that a population remains midway between the landed *noblesse* and the rural peasantry.

The entire town population was divided by Peter the Great into *merchants* and *burghers*. Every householder of either class is one of the municipality, and possesses a vote in the election of the mayor and ancients, who

preside over the corporate body. The merchants are distributed into three *guilds*, according to the value of their profits. Of these, the two upper were endowed by Catherine II. with the exemption enjoyed by the nobles from the punishment of the lash. The lowest guild, together with the burghers, continue subject to its infliction, in common with all the non-privileged children of this paternal government.

The superior merchants were originally liable to sink into the same condition, if reduced by the fluctuations of trade to the lowest guild. To guard against such a contingency, they exerted all their endeavours to get their sons into the public service, and so acquire for them the right of nobility.

To remedy this inconvenience, and encourage the pursuit of trade, the Emperor Nicolas created, in 1832, the new grade of *notable*, or capital burgess (*potchetnoi grajdanine*), exempt both from corporal punishment and the capitation tax. This rank is either hereditary or for life, according to the terms of its bestowal. It is not dependent on any extent of business, but is conferred by the government on any trader, artist, or burgher at pleasure. A merchant, however, of ten years' standing in the first guild, is, *ipso facto*, an hereditary capital burgess. The same rank belongs of right to the children of the public servants below the grade of hereditary nobles. No capital burgess is allowed to keep a shop or retail counting-house; their business must be carried on wholesale.

The municipal corporations are empowered to raise and appropriate taxes, or rates, for local purposes. They also elect some of the members of the district and provincial tribunals, but have no voice in the composition of the Provincial Councils. These privileges would be

considerable under constitutional and responsible rule ; but, like all others in Russia, they are of little value, from being subject to the arbitrary interference of the central government. A provincial governor in Russia resembles a military commander quartered on a subjugated people, more than a public officer among his fellow-subjects. The privileges of the municipal or rural authorities are as dust in the balance against the pleasure of the imperial representative.

In a free country it is impossible to conceive the contempt with which their representations and themselves are treated by these lordly satraps. The corporation waits upon his Excellency on his arrival, like the authorities of a conquered town, to solicit his clemency and the continuance of their ancient privileges. Their congratulations are known to have been answered in this way :—“ Gentlemen, you are all rogues. Be upon your guard, for I warn you that I shall exercise the utmost severity to every one.” The governor-general whose words are here quoted was accustomed to say that “ nothing troubled his administration so much as the laws.” Others might conclude that nothing troubled him *less*. On one occasion he sent orders for the application of the municipal rates ; the mayor very properly refused to obey them, but was sent into exile by the emperor for disrespect to his representative. The judges elected by the municipalities are treated with even less regard. They may be seen in the antechamber of the court helping the president to take off his pelisse and upper boots. The voice of such subordinates cannot be expected to weigh against the other assessors appointed by the crown and the nobles.

In 1846 a plan was introduced for the reform of

the corporations, with a view to improve their position. The municipal assembly at Petersburg was remodelled, and composed of deputies from the various ranks of the people, proprietors, hereditary nobles, nobles for life, hereditary capital burgesses, capital burgesses for life, merchants of the three guilds, and common burgesses. The several orders, however, instead of deliberating in common, were required to consult apart; and, as the governor-general retained his old arbitrary power over all, the experiment failed, and was not extended to other towns. In short, neither judges, laws, nor rights, general or local, can co-exist with an autocracy; it can only be truly defined as the absence of all law but the imperial will.

The want of political and municipal liberty implies, of course, a general insecurity of persons and property, which is always fatal to the growth of the middle classes. The government, however, extends to traders and manufacturers as much freedom as is compatible with Russian ideas, and more favour and protection than would be acceptable to Englishmen. The Russians have a natural liking for these pursuits, with a facility of imitation and a dexterity of hand which make them excellent workmen. From these causes, the trade and manufactures of the empire have been wonderfully augmented. Since 1835 the number of workmen employed in manufactories has increased yearly at the rate of 15 or 20 per cent. Moscow and the little towns in its government are the focus of manufacturing industry. Next come the governments of Vladimir, Nijni-Novgorod, Saratof, and Petersburg. Poland is famous for linen, woollen, and leather manufactories, and the government of Tula for all kinds of metal articles. The Ural mountains are justly celebrated for their works

in iron, copper, and malachite; Siberia for its precious metals, jewels, marbles, &c. Tallow, wax, candles, soap, silk, cotton, glass, honey, and tobacco, are extensively manufactured in various parts of the empire. It must be borne in mind, however, that most of the principal works are superintended by foreigners; and, after all, the Russian manufactures, as a general rule, are both dearer and less durable than those of other European countries.

Commerce, also, is as yet largely in the hands of foreigners, who under despotic governments often enjoy more consideration than natives. Still, a considerable number of Russians are employed in the large trade conveyed by the interior navigation, and exchanged at the annual *fairs*. These remnants of primitive slave habits are prominent in Russia. The principal fairs are those of Nijni-Novgorod, Isbit, Romna, Kharkoff, Koursk, Korson, Rostoff, Sumy, Saratoff, Simbirsk, Tambof, Taganrog, Jakutsk, Penza, and Nijni-Lornoff. At these fairs goods are annually disposed of to the amount of fifteen or sixteen millions sterling. The chief articles of foreign export are wheat, flour, cattle, furs, feathers, mats, flax, hemp seed, oil, tallow, hides, wool, bristles, timber, metals, linen, cordage, woollens, cotton, candles, soap, brandy, fish, fruits, honey, wax, &c.

The inhabitants of the rural districts, not being included in some of the privileged orders, all belong to the class called *serfs*. Their condition has been justly described as that of an animal, rather than a man — in English law, a *thing*, and not a *person*. A decree of the present emperor, promulgated on the 3rd March 1861, promises emancipation in the course of two years. Till then, serfs have neither legal rights nor property, but

are bought and sold* with the lands on which they live, like the cattle and the crops. Indeed, an estate in Russia is estimated by its number of male labourers, not by its dimensions or produce. Curiously enough, too, these elements of value are denominated "*souls*," though, being stripped of every right of manhood, they might be more properly termed "*bodies*."*

This frightful bondage, like the kindred slavery in the United States of America, is at once the shame and the difficulty of the country it is suffered to pollute. While both are inexcusable, the Russian tyranny appears the more unnatural, since it imposes upon the children of the soil a yoke which American institutions assign only to another race and colour. It is remarkable, also, that Russian serfdom is of comparatively recent origin; in fact, the creature of the political government, rather than of private wrong and robbery. The primitive Russians were as free in the country as in the town. With the exception of captives taken in war, or criminals reduced to bondage by the sentence of the law, or, finally, those who were sold for a period by their parents or themselves, every man enjoyed the natural right of humanity, in the exclusive control of his own person and labour. After the enslavement of the nation by the Mongols, the Muscovite monarchy was founded on the despotic principles imbibed from those barbarians, in place of the traditions of the Slavonian tribes and the laws of Yaroslav. The Czar and his agents assumed unlimited authority over a spiritless population, and, amid the many revolutions which have at various times effected a change of tyrants, no one thought or spoke of the

* The term was possibly borrowed from the Mohammedans, who, though not absolutely denying the existence of souls in women, allow them no place in paradise, and treat them as little better than animals upon earth.

liberties of the subject. A representative constitution, or even an equal administration of the laws, was never demanded or projected.

It has been the fate of Russia to be occupied either in contending against foreign enemies or in repressing servile and barbarous insurrections — the two conditions least favourable to the rise of free institutions. The more enlightened struggles which gave birth to English liberty never found place among the Slavonian nations. Like the ancient Greeks, their idea of freedom was that of one class being at liberty to oppress another. They uniformly opposed themselves both to the equality of the subject before the law, and to the supreme magistracy by which alone the authority of the law can be enforced. Still the Russian peasant was not deprived of the disposal of his own labour, the inherent right of mankind, and the original groundwork of society and of property. He was as free as the generality of his class in continental Europe, though more embarrassed, perhaps, by the peculiar conditions of the country which he inhabited. Living at great distances, on vast and thinly populated estates, without the means of combination or communication with other districts, the rural labourer was practically much at the mercy of the employer. The inefficiency of the tribunals augmented his disadvantages to a frightful degree. Still he had the last resource of removing to a better market, and this privilege was the more feasible from the innate tendency to roam, which is a leading feature in the national character. It was, in fact, exerted to an extent which alarmed the proprietors. To preserve their estates from decay, the peasant was deprived of his liberty. His labour was taken without payment, and enforced by violence in the name of the law. The poor

man's single lamb was seized upon to spare the flocks and herds of his rich neighbour.

Boris Godunoff, the author of this infamous decree, modified its operation after his usurpation of the throne, so as to permit the transfer of a labourer from one small proprietor to another. This was, in fact, to legalize the sale of the serf, apart from the land; henceforth, Russian serfdom was of two kinds, prædial and domestic. The former regarded the peasant as a portion of the estate, like the trees and farm buildings; the other differed not at all from the negro slavery of the Southern States of America.

In the troubles ensuing upon the overthrow of the usurper, his decrees appear to have been little regarded. Both descriptions of servitude, however, were deliberately revived under Michael Romanoff, and they appear in the code of Alexis (A.D. 1619) as legal and recognised institutions. Peter the Great abolished the distinction of prædial servitude, and made the rural labourer equally saleable with the domestic slave. Every serf, man, woman, and child, thus became liable to be torn from his home and sold into exile, at the will of the so-called owner or his creditors.

None of that great monarch's reforms were at all directed to the relief of these unhappy victims to a barbarous legislation. He encouraged the settlement of foreign traders and colonists, by privileges which provoked the jealousy even of his nobles. He fostered commerce among his own subjects with an enlightened discernment; but he left the whole rural population, without a thought, to unending and remorseless bondage.

At the death of Peter II., when an effort was made to limit the power of the crown, no one still thought of

the serfs. A few of the nobility struggled for themselves, and failed, because they enlisted no popular support. The release of the nobles, under Peter III., from the bondage of compulsory service to the crown, brought no liberty to the peasant. On the contrary, by enabling his owners to reside in the country, it often changed a distant master, who was content to receive a tribute without further interference, into a resident tyrant, inflicting blows and exile at caprice.

Catherine II., with all her affectation of liberty, was rigidly opposed to any elevation of the lower classes: even to educate them she deemed fatal to their obedience. The question was courageously broached in her States-General, and emancipation demanded; but the assembly was instantly dissolved, and another servile insurrection, under the Kossack Pugatcheff, rendered the cause desperate for the remainder of that lengthened reign. Catherine even repeated the crime of Godunoff, by reducing the peasants of Little Russia, who had been hitherto free, to serfdom like the unhappy Muscovites. By a singular fatality, the same empress had, two years before, proclaimed that every Mohammedan and Pagan slave in her empire embracing Christianity should be free the moment he touched Russian soil: hence a monopoly of slavery was reserved for hereditary Christians and the national population.

Catherine and Paul, in conjunction, may be called the actual authors of at least one-third of the modern slavery. The distributions of serfs made by them as rewards to different nobles together with the peasants of Little Russia, amounted to no less than seven millions of souls. One amelioration was attempted by an ordinance of Paul's, which fixed the compulsory labour of the serf at three days a week; but there were no tribunals to

enforce the law, and it has been little regarded in practice.

To Alexander I. belongs the merit of first attempting the emancipation of the serfs. In 1803, two years after his accession to the throne, a law appeared which permitted the manumission of entire villages, on condition that eight arpents of land (equal to about three English acres) were allotted in perpetuity for every male emancipated. This provision, so obviously impracticable, was probably due to the retrograde party in the state, and had the effect of paralysing the whole measure.

Singularly enough, another experiment, the next year, suffered under the very opposite mistake. In the Baltic provinces, the Esthonian and Livonian peasantry were held in bondage by a German proprietary, among whom the question of emancipation had been more thoroughly entertained than by the less enlightened nobles of Russia. The emperor himself presided over the inquiry at Petersburg, and in 1804 a ukase was issued, assigning a period of fourteen years for the gradual emancipation of the serfs. Instead of confining the operation of the law to entire villages, the whole enslaved population was divided into fourteen classes, and a fourteenth part of each was to be emancipated yearly. The process commenced in 1817, when a fourteenth of the boys, a fourteenth of the men, a fourteenth of the aged persons, and so forth, received their liberty. In 1831 the whole became free. During the interval, the labour of the serf and the power of the master were regulated by law, and tribunals were appointed of the peasants themselves to watch over its execution.

Unfortunately, this scheme, otherwise so excellent, contained no provision for enabling the emancipated peasants to become proprietors of land. Their position

is simply that of labourers who can leave or be dismissed from their employ at six months' notice, and the situation must be hard indeed which would drive a Russian into perpetual exile. Moreover, no one can travel without a passport, which the police will seldom grant to a peasant; while the nobles, not unnaturally, object to receive a fugitive from other estates. On the other hand, the master easily discharges those who have become obnoxious or troublesome. Age and sickness have lost their protection; and in a country where there is no poor-law, it may be questioned how far the peasantry are as yet gainers by their emancipation. The lord is found to take less interest in those who are no longer his property; and the simple Lette, unaccustomed to freedom and ignorant how to use it, is often heard to complain, that he has "lost a father and kept a master."

The same course was taken, and with similar effects, in the emancipation of the serfs of Poland, consequent on the introduction of the Code Napoléon in 1807. The peasants were freed, but left to the mercy of the lords for their subsistence; whereas, in the provinces which fell to Russia, they received allotments of land along with their freedom, and the general security which followed was found to enhance the value of the estates of the owners.

Alexander, in the early part of his reign, cherished a design of putting aside a million of rubles yearly, for the purpose of compensating the owners for the release of their serfs; but the plan was never put in operation. This emperor forbade the sale of serfs apart from the land, but this measure also had its defect: the owners adopted a practice of *leasing* out the serf, who was thus subjected to a double bondage. The hirer, being desirous to make the most of the bargain,

is often guilty of the grossest ill-usage; and this class of bondsmen are perhaps the most unhappy in Russia.

The Emperor Nicolas, so rigorous to the nobles, was sincerely desirous of ameliorating the condition of the serfs, but his detestation of political liberty prevented his perceiving the true remedy. He had to contend also against the great majority of the nobles and *tchinofnik*, who saw nothing in the proposal but the destruction of their property, and of their own miserable superiority over the lower orders. Nevertheless, he created a ministry of the Imperial Domains in 1838, charged to reorganize the condition of the peasantry on the crown estates. Soon after, a law was introduced to commute the general servitude, either into a fixed amount of labour (*corvée*), or into an annual tax or tribute instead (*obrok*). The opposition of the Council prevented this reform from taking effect, save on the estates where it was voluntarily adopted by the owners.

On the crown estates, and those of the church, the serf is required to pay his *obrok*, or capitation tax, and is then permitted, under certain regulations, to enjoy the disposal and the fruits of his industry. Many of the nobles have even allowed their serfs to leave the estate, and pursue their fortunes in other places. Some of the richest merchants in Riga are serfs of this description, paying their *obrok* to a distant lord, and living like princes on the surplus profits of their industry. Still, they are liable at any moment* to be recalled to their villages, as the owners generally objected to grant a full manumission. Others send their serfs to work at manufacturing employments, taking to themselves a share in their earnings. Numbers are retained about the persons of their lords as domestic

servants; but the great majority remain on the estates, subject to the *corrée*, or other burdens, at the will of the owner, and with no redress against his capricious and brutal violence.

The present emperor, Alexander II., signalized his accession by proclaiming his firm resolve to accomplish the emancipation of the serfs without delay. The intimation was hailed over all Russia, and throughout Europe, as the dawn of a new era; but the project was beset with enormous difficulties, through the aversion of the retrograde party, including the whole *tschin*. The assemblies of nobles were interdicted by the Minister of the Interior from discussing the question, and the marshal at Twer having disregarded the injunction, was actually sent into exile for his courage. The press, in like manner, was prohibited from interfering in the discussion. The very word "emancipation" was ordered to be exchanged for "amelioration," and the cause of liberty was everywhere frowned on by the authorities. The emperor, however, persevered. He appointed his brother, the Grand Duke Constantine Nicolaievitch, to preside over a committee at Petersburg, charged with the examination of the whole question. Subordinate committees of nobles were required to report from the various districts for their information. A great variety of views was naturally elicited, but it finally appeared that three courses only were open for adoption:

1. Simple emancipation, without any provision for the peasant.

2. Emancipation, with an allotment of land, to be paid for by the liberated serf, either in money, or by a continuance of compulsory labour till the debt should be redeemed.

3. Emancipation; with an allotment of land to be paid for by government; the latter being partially reimbursed by an annual tribute, for a specified time, from the liberated serf.

The first plan had few advocates. The last was warmly supported by the foremost friends of civilization. They urged that emancipation, to be truly beneficial, must be immediate; that forced labour is unprofitable; and that government having been itself the exclusive author of the bondage, ought to advance the price of its redemption.

The second course, however, was made the basis of the plan finally promulgated. The following is the text of this important document:—

“MANIFESTO OF HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR.

“By the grace of God, we, Alexander II., Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, King of Poland, Grand Duke of Finland, &c., to all our faithful subjects make known:—

“Called by Divine Providence and by the sacred right of inheritance to the throne of our ancestors, we took a vow in our innermost heart so to respond to the mission which is intrusted to us as to surround with our affection and our imperial solicitude all our faithful subjects of every rank and of every condition, from the warrior who nobly bears arms for the defence of the country to the humble artizan devoted to the works of industry; from the official in the career of the high offices of the State to the labourer whose plough furrows the soil.

“In considering the various classes and conditions of which the State is composed, we came to the conviction that the legislation of the empire having wisely provided for the organization of the upper and middle classes, and having defined with precision their obligations, their rights, and their privileges, has not attained the same degree of efficiency as regards the peasants attached to the soil (*krépostnyé*), thus designated because either from ancient laws or from custom they have been hereditarily subjected to the authority of the proprietors, on whom it was

incumbent at the same time to provide for their welfare. The rights of the proprietors have been hitherto very extended and very imperfectly defined by the law, which has been supplied by tradition, custom, and the good pleasure of the proprietors. In the most favourable cases this state of things has established patriarchal relations founded upon a solicitude sincerely equitable and benevolent on the part of the proprietors, and on an affectionate submission on the part of the peasants; but in proportion as the simplicity of morals diminished, as the diversity of the mutual relations became complicated, as the paternal character of the relations between the proprietors and the peasants became weakened, and, moreover, as the seigniorial authority fell sometimes into hands exclusively occupied with their personal interests, those bonds of mutual good will slackened, and a wide opening was made for an arbitrary sway which weighed upon the peasants, was unfavourable to their welfare, and made them indifferent to all progress under the conditions of their existence.

“These facts had already attracted the notice of our predecessors of glorious memory, and they had taken measures for improving the condition of the peasants; but among those measures some were not stringent enough, insomuch as they remained subordinate to the spontaneous initiative of such proprietors who showed themselves animated with liberal intentions; and others, called forth by peculiar circumstances, have been restricted to certain localities or simply adopted as an experiment. It was thus that Alexander I. published the regulation for the free cultivators, and that the late Emperor Nicolas, our beloved father, promulgated that one which concerns the peasants *bound by contract*. In the Western Governments regulations called ‘*inventaires*,’ had fixed the territorial allotments due to the peasants, as well as the amount of their rent dues; but all these reforms have only been applied in a very restricted manner.

“We thus came to the conviction that the work of a serious improvement of the condition of the peasants was a sacred inheritance bequeathed to us by our ancestors — a mission which, in the course of events, Divine Providence called upon us to fulfil.

“We have commenced this work by an expression of our

imperial confidence towards the nobility of Russia, which has given us so many proofs of its devotion to the throne and of its constant readiness to make sacrifices for the welfare of the country.

"It is to the nobles themselves, conformable to their own wishes, that we have reserved the task of drawing up the propositions for the new organization of the peasants — propositions which make it incumbent upon them to limit their rights over the peasants, and to accept the onus of a reform which could not be accomplished without some material losses. Our confidence has not been deceived. We have seen the nobles assembled in committees in the districts, through the medium of their confidential agents, making the voluntary sacrifice of their rights as regards the personal servitude of the peasants. These committees, after having collected the necessary *data*, have formulated their propositions concerning the new organization of the peasants attached to the soil (*krépostnyé*) in their relations with the proprietors.

"These propositions having been found very diverse, as was to be expected from the nature of the question, they have been compared, collated, and reduced to a regular system, then rectified and completed in the superior committee instituted for that purpose; and these new dispositions thus formulated relative to the peasants and domestics (*dvoronyé*) of the proprietors have been examined in the Council of the Empire.

"Having invoked the Divine assistance, we have resolved to carry this work into execution.

"In virtue of the new dispositions above mentioned, the peasants attached to the soil (*attachés à la glèbe*) will be invested within a term fixed by the law with all the rights of free cultivators.

"The proprietors retaining their rights of property on all the land belonging to them, grant to the peasants for a fixed regulated rental the full enjoyment of their close (*enclos*);" and, moreover, to assure their livelihood and to guarantee the fulfilment of their obligations towards the Government, the quantity of arable land is fixed by the said dispositions, as well as other rural appurtenances (*ougodie*).

"But, in the enjoyment of these territorial allotments, the peasants are obliged, in return, to acquit the rentals fixed by

the same dispositions to the profit of the proprietors. In this state, which must be a transitory one, the peasants shall be designated as 'temporarily bound' (*temporairement obligés*).

"At the same time they are granted the right of purchasing their close (*enclos*), and, with the consent of the proprietors, they may acquire in full property the arable lands and other appurtenances which are allotted to them as a permanent holding (*jouissance*). By the acquisition in full property of the quantity of land fixed the peasants are free from their obligations towards the proprietors for land thus purchased, and they enter definitively into the condition of free peasants — landholders (*paysans libres — propriétaires*).

"By a special disposition concerning the domestics (*gens de la domesticité — dvorovyé*) a transitory state is fixed for them adapted to their occupations and the exigencies of their position. On the expiration of a term of two years, dating from the day of the promulgation of these dispositions, they shall receive their full enfranchisement and some temporary immunities

"It is according to these fundamental principles that the dispositions have been formulated which define the future organization of the peasants and of the domestics (*dvorovyé*), which establish the order of the general administration of this class, and specify in all their details the rights given to the peasants and to the domestics, as well as the obligations imposed upon them towards the Government and towards the proprietors.

"Although these dispositions, general as well as local, and the special supplementary rules for some particular localities, for the lands of small proprietors, and for the peasants who work in the manufactories and establishments (*usines*) of the proprietors, have been, as far as was possible, adapted to economical necessities and local customs, nevertheless, to preserve the existing state where it presents reciprocal advantages, we leave it to the proprietors to come to amicable terms with the peasants, and to conclude transactions relative to the extent of the territorial allotment and to the amount of rental to be fixed in consequence, observing at the same time the established rules to guarantee the inviolability of such agreements.

"As the new organization, in consequence of the inevitable complexity of the changes which it necessitates, cannot be immediately put into execution; as a lapse of time is necessary,

which cannot be less than two years or thereabouts, to avoid all misunderstanding and to protect public and private interests during this interval, the system (*régime*) actually existing on the properties of landowners (*seigneurs*) will be maintained up to the moment when a new system shall have been instituted by the completion of the required preparatory measures.

‘For which end, we have deemed it advisable to ordain —

“1. To establish in each district (*gouvernement*) a special Court for the question of the peasants; it will have to investigate the affairs of the rural communes established on the land of the lords of the soil (*seigneurs*).

“2. To appoint in each district justices of the peace to investigate on the spot all misunderstandings and disputes which may arise on the occasion of the introduction of the new regulation, and to form district assemblies with these justices of the peace.

“3. To organize in the seigneurial properties communal administrations, and to this end to leave the rural communes in their actual composition, and to open in the large villages district administrations (provincial boards) by uniting the small communes under one of these district administrations.

“4. To formulate, verify, and confirm in each rural district or estate a charter of rules (*une charte réglementaire — oustavnia gramota*), in which shall be enumerated, on the basis of the local statute, the amount of land reserved to the peasants in permanent enjoyment, and the extent of the charges which may be exacted from them for the benefit of the proprietor as well for the land as for other advantages granted by him.

“5. To put these charters of rules into execution as they are gradually confirmed in each estate, and to introduce their definitive execution within the term of two years, dating from the day of publication of the present manifesto.

“6. Up to the expiration of this term the peasants and domestics (*gens de la domesticité*) are to remain in the same obedience towards their proprietors, and to fulfil their former obligations without scruple.

“7. The proprietors will continue to watch over the maintenance of order on their estates, with the right of jurisdiction and of police, until the organization of the districts (*volosti*) and of the district tribunals has been effected.

"Aware of all the difficulties of the reform we have undertaken, we place above all things our confidence in the goodness of Divine Providence, who watches over the destinies of Russia.

"We also count upon the generous devotion of our faithful nobility, and we are happy to testify to that body the gratitude it has deserved from us, as well as from the country, for the disinterested support it has given to the accomplishment of our designs. Russia will not forget that the nobility, acting solely upon its respect for the dignity of man and its love for its neighbour, has spontaneously renounced rights given to it by serfdom actually abolished, and laid the foundation of a new future, which is thrown open to the peasants. We also entertain the firm hope that it will also nobly exert its ulterior efforts to carry out the new regulation by maintaining good order, in a spirit of peace and benevolence, and that each proprietor will complete within the limits of his property the great civic act accomplished by the whole body by organizing the existence of the peasants domiciliated on his estates, and of his domestics, under mutual advantageous conditions, thereby giving to the country population the example of a faithful and conscientious execution of the regulations of the State.

"The numerous examples of the generous solicitude of the proprietors for the welfare of their peasants, and of the gratitude of the latter for the benevolent solicitude of their lords, give us the hope that a mutual understanding will settle the majority of complications, in some cases inevitable, in the partial application of general rules to the different conditions under which isolated estates are placed; that in this manner the transition from the ancient order of things to the new will be facilitated; and that the future will strengthen definitively mutual confidence, a good understanding, and the unanimous impulsion towards public utility.

"To render the transactions between the proprietors and the peasants more easy, in virtue of which the latter may acquire in full property their close (*enclos*, homestead) and the land they occupy, the Government will advance assistance according to a special regulation, by means of loans or a transfer of debts encumbering an estate.

‘We thus confidently rely upon the upright feeling of the nation.

“When the first news of this great reform meditated by the Government became diffused among the rural populations, who were scarcely prepared for it, it gave rise, in some instances, to misunderstandings among individuals more intent upon liberty than mindful of the duties which it imposes. But generally the good sense of the country has not been wanting. It has not misunderstood either the inspirations of natural reason, which says that every man who accepts freely the benefits of society owes it in return the fulfilment of certain positive obligations; nor the teachings of the Christian law, which enjoins that ‘every one be subject unto the higher powers’ (St. Paul to the Romans, xiii. 1); and to ‘render to all their dues,’ and, above all, to whomsoever it belongs, tribute, custom, respect, and honour. (*Ibid.*, 7 v.) It has understood that the proprietors would not be deprived of rights legally acquired, except for a fit and sufficient indemnity, or by a voluntary concession on their part; that it would be contrary to all equity to accept this enjoyment of the lands conceded by the proprietors without accepting also towards them equivalent charges.

“And now, we hope with confidence that the freed serfs, in the presence of the new future which is opened before them, will appreciate and recognise the considerable sacrifices which the nobility have made on their behalf. They will understand that the blessing of an existence supported upon the base of guaranteed property, as well as a greater liberty in the administration of their goods, entails upon them, with new duties towards society and themselves, the obligation of justifying the protecting designs of the law by a loyal and judicious use of the rights which are now accorded to them. For if men do not labour themselves to insure their own well-being under the shield of the laws, the best of those laws cannot guarantee it to them.

“It is only by assiduous labour, a rational employment of their strength and their resources, a strict economy, and, above all, by an honest life, a life constantly inspired by the fear of the Lord, they can arrive at prosperity and insure its development.

“The authorities intrusted with the duty of preparing by

preliminary measures the execution of the new organization, and of presiding at its inauguration, will have to see that this work is accomplished with calmness and regularity, taking into account the requirements of the seasons, in order that the cultivator may not be drawn away from his agricultural labours. Let him apply himself with zeal to those labours, that he may be able to draw from an abundant granary the seed which he has to confide to that land which will be given him for permanent enjoyment, or which he has acquired for himself as his own property.

"And now, pious and faithful people, make upon thy forehead the sacred sign of the cross, and join thy prayers to ours to call down the blessing of the Most High upon thy first free labours, the sure pledge of thy personal well-being and of the public prosperity.

"Given at St. Petersburg the 19th day of February (March 3), of the Year of Grace 1861, and the seventh of our reign.

"ALEXANDER."

The nature of the subject seemed to require the insertion of this manifesto entire; but its practical purport may be stated in a brief compass:—

1. A period of two years is assigned to the operation, during which both peasants and domestics are to remain in their present condition, unless earlier liberated by consent of their lords.

2. Magistrates are to be appointed in every district to conduct the details.

3. The peasant, when liberated, is to receive an allotment of land at an adequate rent, for the payment of which, in money or labour, he will continue bound.

4. Complete emancipation, with the freehold of his house and its inclosure, may be purchased of the lord.

5. Domestic serfs are to be absolutely free on the expiry of the two years, but the provision for their support is left undefined.

6. The government will assist in the experiment by

loans of money, and, by further arrangements in the case of encumbered estates.

The beneficial working of the plan will therefore be dependent, in the first place, on the disposition of the lords, the bulk of whom (especially among the smaller proprietors) have shown themselves little favourable to emancipation; secondly, on the ability and integrity of the magistrates—qualities not hitherto apparent in Russian functionaries; and, lastly, on the life, energy, and continued good intentions of Alexander II.

These conditions are all beset with uncertainty. It is not probable that after this manifesto the emancipation will be, in any quarter, directly and avowedly resisted. Such a line of conduct would provoke a servile rebellion, destructive of the whole empire: but when the power of official intrigue is considered, with the state of the judicial establishments, and the many contingencies affecting the financial and political prospects of the country, it is impossible not to feel the gravity of the emperor's appeal to the assistance of Divine Providence. *Another war* would be fatal to the entire scheme. Humanly speaking, its success must hang on the dissemination of higher views, and a sounder morality, than have hitherto characterized Russian administrations. Alexander may do much; but in the absence of free representation, and an enlightened independent press, the task he has undertaken might well appal a stronger mind. May He who has put into his heart a good design, graciously prosper it to a good effect! *

CHAPTER VIII.

TOWN AND COUNTRY LIFE.

Capital and Provinces — Two Capitals in Russia — Diversity in the Population — Great Russia — PETERSBURG — Foreign Appearance — Great Buildings — Constant Movement — Love of Effect — Houses — Stoves — Streets — Walk in the Nevskoi Prospekt — Emperor Nicolas — Veneration for the Sovereign — Immorality of Higher Classes — Sledges — Markets — Gostinnoi Dvor — Black People — Baths — Monuments — Peter I. — Moscow — Striking Appearance — Architecture — Water Kremlin — Holy Pictures — Terema — Coronation Hall — Bread of Moscow — Original Settlement — Rivers — Churches — French Plunder — Monasteries — Great Lords — Manufactures — Bazaars — Caricatures — Gold Devil — Travelling Yemshchiky — Provincial Towns — Villages — Houses — Families — Food — Tshin, Tshai, and Shsthee — Brandy Trades — Village Communities — Rise and Progress of Serfdom — Obrok — Rural Institutions — Conscription — Physical Appearance — Dress — Curious Custom — Female Labour — Education — Relations with Superiors — Hindu Resemblances — Requisites for Reform — New Era of Alexander II. — Concluding Reflections.

In all countries the people of the capital differ, more or less, from those of the provinces; in Russia, town and country are placed under different laws and institutions. In other kingdoms, the capital is a type and development of the nation; in Russia, it is a foreign organization imposed by arbitrary power. Perhaps we should rather say that there are two capitals—Petersburg, imperial, alien, self-asserting; Moscow, national and representative. The other towns reflect the character of one or the other, in proportion as they have sprung from the imperial mandate, or been the growth of local necessities. Meantime the rural population is as distinct from the citizens of both as if it belonged to another kingdom.

A further cause of diversity in Russia is the great variety of race and nation included in the imperial dominions. The empire is not old enough to have

obliterated the distinctions of Fin, Swede, German, Esthonian, Lette, and Tartar, which characterize the subjugated provinces ; neither are Russians, Poles, and Kossacks, though all Slavonians, by any means an amalgamated people. We must confine ourselves in this chapter to the inhabitants of Great Russia, as the dominant race, and constituting two-thirds of the entire population. Of these the national character is so distinctly marked, that its leading features may be clearly apprehended.

Petersburg has been termed a window opened by Peter the Great into Europe, to let in the air on his Asiatic dominions. It was a window adapted to the view from without, rather than from within. It was not designed as an outlet to national tendencies, but to introduce and domesticate a foreign development. Its exotic character remains still legibly written on the city, the population, and the manners. The very climate and soil seem to repudiate the outlandish erections which meet the eye. Broad open streets, of Greek and Italian architecture, stretch over flat, treacherous marshes, beneath the canopy of a cold, leaden sky. The national vanity has exaggerated rather than adapted the peculiarities of southern architecture. Nature, like a primitive Slavonian bride, has been conquered, not wooed : she has been taken captive, bound and fettered ; but the struggle is hardly over, and the victor has still to pay dearly for the acquisition.

The huge edifices are raised on piles enormously augmenting the cost.* The miles of granite quay that bind in the rivers hide their greatest outlay under ground, and are annually in danger of flooding from the rush

* The foundations of St. Isaac's church cost above a million of roubles ; more than enough to have completed a stately cathedral on solid ground.

and swell of the waters loosened from the frost. The stately pillars, porticoes and balconies, lavished at every corner, seem to mock more than to accommodate their shivering owners. Double-glazed windows exclude the breeze which such arcades were designed to court : in place of sweet zephyrs breathing balmy odours through their recesses, they echo the pitiless blast of Boreas, and are often half buried in snow-drift.

The Russians demand such a capital as little as their country. There is no apparent call for it. The shipping, though numerous in itself, never required these enormous quays or the pompous buildings that line them. The vessels lie scattered in groups at vast intervals, instead of being crowded up into the forests of masts which mark the natural homes of commerce. Neither has the land originated the colossal edifices that burden its quaking and sterile bosom. The Winter Palace accommodating 6000 inmates, the Infantry Hospital with its 4000 beds, the Foundling Hospital with nearly 7000, have no relations with the marshes of Ladoga. The Admiralty, the Hôtel de l'État-Major, the Tauride Palace, cover each the site of a little town. Some of the private houses accommodate more than a thousand tenants, and a regiment of cavalry might be reviewed in their quadrangles. "Why are these buildings *here*?" is the involuntary exclamation of the visitor, looking only to the visible demand. The gay and gorgeous equipages that dash through the street, the constant passage of troops, the roll of drums incessantly announcing some prince-marshal or governor, mark no doubt a great imperial residence ; but where is the *empire*? Instead of lying, like London and Paris, in the heart of the nation, at once the fountain and reservoir of its innumerable

currents, Petersburg is pushed up into a corner ; nothing national seems to *settle* in it, all is either coming or going, and obviously on journeys of prodigious length. The *entourage* is inconsistent : the picture has no shade,—all is new and unnatural. There is nothing spontaneous, and therefore nothing picturesque, in the view. Regular, handsome, and imposing, it is yet a singularly uninteresting city.

The suburbs, even, are new and symmetrical, void of those irregular, dilapidated habitations which contrast with the decorated mansions of older and less artificial cities. Russia, in fact, does not possess the ragged, demoralized, street population which impart a characteristic, though mournful, feature to the towns of other nations. Serfdom has avoided at least this reproach ; in exchange for the liberties of a man, it has secured to the poor the food and lodging of an animal.

Petersburg has imported many reforms, as well as many vices, into the national circulation. Its principal native feature is a passion for *effect*, the genuine offspring of the national vanity. “To assume a virtue if you have it not,” is a truly Russian maxim. The streets are full of *shams*. A house of one story is raised to the dignity of two by a painted wooden facade, with sham windows bolted to the real tenement by iron bars. A brick building will be masked with painted boards to imitate a Grecian temple. Even the hoarding round a house under repair is sometimes painted with doors and windows, to “look like” a habitation. The same spirit shows itself in the marvellous *haste* with which large edifices are run up. The Russian no sooner begins than he is impatient to see the result. Palaces are put together, like stage decorations, without regard to expense. Twenty millions of

roubles were expended on the Winter Palace in one year; the workmen held blazing fires to the walls to dry them foot by foot as they proceeded. This impatience, combined with the instability of the soil, and a nipping frost that splits and splinters the strongest granite, will effectually prevent Petersburg from ever being an old city. Much of it is already in ruins, which, coupled with its sham elevations, present no unfaithful type of the superficial civilization of the empire.

The interior of the houses, like their exterior, exhibits a constant attempt to enjoy the productions of other countries in situations the most unnatural. The great aim of the inhabitants is to imitate and exceed the manners, conveniences, and luxuries of Paris and other wealthy capitals. No expense is spared to impart the comforts of other climates, however unnecessary or unsuitable. Brick walls, constructed five or six feet thick in order to keep out the cold, are pierced by large windows of magnificent plate glass, through which nothing is to be seen but mud and snow. Flowers from every sunny land are distributed with a profusion and an expenditure which no other capital would dream of. Instead of the small apartments in which it might be thought necessary to seek refuge from the cold, a Petersburg saloon would permit the owner to drive a *troitka* round the ample inclosure. Luxurious furniture, gigantic mirrors, costly chandeliers, statuary, articles of *virtù*, with draperies of velvet, satin, and lace, vie with the richest displays of France and Italy. Ladies and gentlemen glide along the polished floors, attired in the height of Parisian fashions. The more natural wrappings of fur and wool are deposited at the outer door, and, with the thermometer below zero, the

guests accost one another in the lightest of summer costumes.

To accomplish these wonders, recourse is had to an art in which the Russians undoubtedly excel. No people better understand the science and the necessity of *warming*. A stove of peculiar construction is a prominent feature in every room. Latterly, flues have been introduced beneath the floors, and the whole interior is kept at a moderate and equable temperature, equivalent to an Italian climate. This charming arrangement dispenses with the disagreeable necessity of sleeping under a load of blankets, as well as of emerging from a bedroom, warmed by the tenant's own caloric, into an icy passage and staircase. A genial warmth pervades the whole house, the mild atmosphere is perfumed with flowers, and the bedding is so light and salubrious, that domestics not unfrequently sleep on the floors, as in India.

To look from this artificial state of existence through the plate-glass out on the streets of Petersburg, is like looking through some magical *camera* on the picture of a far-distant land. The enormous size of the plan makes the daily movement so comparatively inconsiderable, that the population appears scanty, and the place a desert. The frozen mud and snow, with the grey, dreary atmosphere, contrast strangely with the summer within doors. The variety of costumes that pass suggests the enormous distances which separate the several parts of the empire. The Kossack trotting along with his lance in rest, the Circassian cavalier prancing in his shirt of mail, or firing his pistol at the sun, the grave Moslem from Kazan or the Caucasus, the Tartar Guards, the Finland Guards, with a hundred other varieties of national attire, seem as much

like hostages in a foreign capital as soldiers in their own. Uniform of one kind or another invests half the population of this imperial city. Its pacific denizens comprehend a motley assortment of Germans, Spaniards, Italians, English, French, Greeks, Chinese and Arabs. All is foreign still. The bearded Russians are outnumbered, in the capital of their own empire, by their enforced compatriots, Fins, Lettes, Poles, Jews, Mongols, and Kamschatdales.

The most crowded part of Petersburg is the Nevskoi Prospekt, a street of four versts in length, where a walk, as described by M. Kohl, will present a graphic sketch of street life in this extraordinary capital: — “Starting from the extreme end, where a monastery and a cemetery remind us of death and solitude, we first arrive at low wooden houses, which lead us to a cattle-market, where around the spirit-shops may be seen swarms of noisy, singing, Russian peasants, presenting a picture not unlike what may daily be seen in the villages of the interior. A little farther on, the houses improve in appearance; some are even of stone, and boast of an additional floor; the houses of public entertainment are of a better description, and shops and warehouses are seen similar to those of the small provincial towns. Next follow some markets and magazines for the sale of invalided furniture and superannuated apparel, which having spent their youth in the service of the central quarters, are consigned in old age to the mercy of the suburbs. The houses, in the old Russian fashion, are painted yellow and red, and every man we meet displays a beard of venerable length, and a yet longer caftan.

“A little farther on, and we see a few *isvoshtshiks*, who have strayed by chance so far from their more central

haunts; a shaven chin and a swallow-tailed coat may be seen at intervals, and here and there a house assumes something like an air of stateliness and splendour. On arriving at a bend in the street, the huge gilt spire of the Admiralty is descried at a distance, floating apparently over the intervening mist. We cross a bridge, and begin to feel that we are in a mighty city. The mansions rise to three, and even to four, stories; the inscriptions on the houses become larger and more numerous, carriages-and-four become more frequent, and every now and then the waving plume of a staff-officer dashes by. At length we arrive at the Fontanka Canal, cross the Anitschkof Bridge, and the palace of Count B. announces at once that we have entered the aristocratic quarter of the capital.

“From this bridge to the Admiralty is what may be called the fashionable part of the Prospekt, and as we advance the bustle and the throng become greater and greater. Carriages-and-four at every step; generals and princes elbowing through the crowd; sumptuous shops, imperial palaces, cathedrals and churches of all the various religions and sects of St. Petersburg. The scene in this portion of the street, at about midday, may challenge comparison with any street in the world, and the splendour of the spectacle is enhanced by the magnificence of the decorations. This part of the street, though fully an English mile in length, does not contain more than fifty houses, each of which, it may easily be inferred, must be of colossal magnitude. Most of these buildings are the property of the several churches that border the streets — the Dutch, the Catholic, the Armenian, and others, that received from Peter the Great large grants of land, of little value probably when first bestowed, but from which, as they

are now in the heart of the city, splendid revenues are at present derived.

“ From the Anitshkof Bridge to the Admiralty is the favourite promenade with the *beau monde* of St. Petersburg. The buildings are magnificent, the equipages roll noiselessly over the wooden pavement of the centre, and the *trottoirs* on each side are broad and commodious. The people you meet are civil, and quarrels and disputes are never heard. The lower classes, from their childhood, are taught to behave respectfully to their more fortunate fellow-men; and, besides, the Slavonian is by nature more ductile and better rounded off than we of the Saxon race, who carry so many corners and crotchets about with us, that we need be careful, when we move through the streets, that we do not entangle ourselves with those we meet. The northern, being the sunny, is the favourite side of the street for the promenaders, and on that side, accordingly, are the most magnificent shops.

“ The seasons and the variations of the weather bring about many and often very sudden changes in the street population of St. Petersburg, where the temperature is always capricious and unstable. In winter every one is cased in furs; in summer light robes of gauze and silk flutter in the breeze. In the morning the costumes are, perhaps, all light and airy, and in the evening of the same day no one will venture to stir abroad except in cloaks and mantles. The sun shines, and swarms of dandies and *petites maîtresses* come fluttering abroad; it rains, and the streets are abandoned to the undisputed possession of the ‘Black People.’ One day all snow and sledges, the next all mud and clattering wheels.

“ Nor is it merely the change of weather that alters the physiognomy of the streets. The various sects that

make up the population of the town give often a peculiar character to the day. On Friday, the holiday of the Moslems, the turbaned Turk, the black-bearded Persian, and the Tartar with his shorn head, take their leisure in the streets. On Saturday the black silk caftans of the Jews come abroad in great numbers; and on the Sunday the Christians of all denominations come forth to their pious exercises or to their various diversions.

"The different sects of the Christians again tend to vary the scene. To-day, the Lutherans celebrate their yearly day of penance, and German burghers, with their wives and children, and with their neat black gilt-edged hymn-books under their arms, sally forth on their pilgrimage to the church; to-morrow, the Roman Catholics are summoned to some feast or other of the Immaculate Virgin, and Poles and Lithuanians, Frenchmen and Austrians, hurry to their stately temples. The next day are heard the thousand bells of the Greek Kolo-kolniks, and the wives and daughters of the Russian merchants come humming and, fluttering about the streets in their gaudy plumages of green, blue, yellow, and red. But the great days are the public holidays, the emperor's days as they are called, when all the modes and fashions current, from Paris to Peking, are certain to be paraded to the public gaze.

"Towards two or three o'clock, the world of promenaders wend their way to the English quay, when the real promenade for the day begins, the imperial family usually mingling with the rest of the loungers. This magnificent quay, constructed, like all the quays of St. Petersburg, of huge blocks of granite, runs along the Neva, from the New to the Old Admiralty, and was built during the reign of the Empress Catherine,

who caused the canals and rivers of her capital, to the length of not less than twenty-four English miles, to be enclosed in granite. As in all water constructions, the colossal part of the work is not that which meets the eye. The mighty scaffolding on which the quay rests stands deeply embedded in the marshy soil below. Handsome steps, every here and there, lead down to the river; and for carriages, large broad descents have been constructed, and these, in winter, are usually decorated with all sorts of fanciful columns and other ornaments, cut out of the ice. The houses along the English quay are deservedly called palaces. They were originally, for the most part, built by Englishmen, but are now, nearly all of them, the property of wealthy Russians.

“ The favourite walk in Hamburg is called the Jungfernstieg, or Maidens' Walk; the English quay in St. Petersburg ought to be called the Princes' Walk, for there daily the *élite* of the Russian empire may be seen wearing away the granite with their princely and noble feet. The carriages usually stop at the New Admiralty, where their noble owners descend, and honour the quay by walking up and down it some two or three times. There are no shops, and as the English quay is not a convenient thoroughfare, the promenaders are seldom disturbed by the presence of any chance passengers. The emperor and the imperial family are a centre to the groups that come to salute them and to be saluted by them. This forms a kind of connexion for the promenaders, and gives a oneness to the assembled company. The emperor walks up and down upon an apparent footing of equality with his subjects around him, though these, in point of fact, stand about in the same relation to him, that a child's doll does to the

Colossus of Rhodes. * The Englishman buttons up his hatred of despotism in his great coat, and scarcely condescends to touch his hat when he meets the 'Giant of the North,' while to the Russian by his side a submissive demeanour has by habit become a positive source of enjoyment, till he feels a real affection for those to whom the law gives the right of ordering him about.

"To see the Emperor Nicolas ride to the parade, with his brilliant staff, was a sight in itself. He was a handsome, majestic-looking man. By his side rode his eldest son (the present Czar), and behind him followed a cloud of cavaliers, of whom each was, at the least, a prince's son and a major-general. As this splendid cortége advanced, the soldiers, drawn up in line, presented arms, and the spectators uncovered their heads. 'Good morning, my children,' was the emperor's salutation, and 'We thank your Majesty,' came thundering in unison from thousands of throats. The parade often lasted several hours; and whoever has witnessed a portion of it, taken a stroll down the Nevskoi Prospekt, looked into the Summer Gardens, and walked up and down the English quay, may quiet his conscience with the reflection that he has neglected no part of the St. Petersburg promenade for that day. A stranger had no occasion, however, to go to the parade if his object was merely to see the emperor; he might be met with on foot, on horseback, or in a *droshky*, in all parts of St. Petersburg, and at every hour of the day. No other monarch appears to have so much business to do in the streets as the successor of Peter the Great. There are public institutions to be inspected, the offices of the different departments of government to be visited, reviews to be held, national festivals at which he is expected to attend, new buildings to be superin-

tended, not to speak of the many private visits paid to those whom he is disposed to honour with so high a mark of favour.

"Wherever Nicolas appeared in public, it was in the most simple and unpretending manner that can be imagined. His usual vehicle, when driving through the streets of his capital, was a sledge or a *droshky*, drawn by a single horse; and when travelling, his *telegue* was a rude carriage, little better than those used by the serfs. This was the more remarkable, as, in other respects, the Russian court is one of greater splendour and magnificence than any other in Europe. Yet the least of all the petty princes of Germany would consider himself affronted if he were invited to take his seat in such a small, plain *droshky* as the Emperor of Russia daily made use of. This was not a custom peculiar to the late emperor; it was adopted by Peter the Great, and has been followed by all his successors."*

The veneration for the person of the reigning sovereign is one of the oriental features so deeply imprinted on the Slavonic character. In Russia it is cultivated into a passion approaching to idolatry. One of the richest inhabitants of Moscow actually died of a broken heart on hearing of the death of Alexander. The intelligence reached him in the street, and the shock was so great he could scarcely gain his home. There, sighing out "*gossudar umei*," the emperor is dead, he fell senseless and never spoke again. Above a hundred deaths are said to have been occasioned by the same cause, — an instance of attachment not easily paralleled among sovereigns far more deserving the admiration and regard of their subjects.

* "*Life in the Streets*." Kohl's *Russia*, chap. iii.

It is not, however, among the aristocracy of Petersburg that the distinctive features of Russian life are to be sought. The upper classes have borrowed their civilization from France and Germany, and are chiefly distinguished for the excess to which they carry the luxuries and extravagance of foreign nations. If any genuine Russian trait survives, it is that astounding *immorality* which threatens Europe far more than the ambition or physical power of the czars. It is possible that, as in some other reforms of Peter I., the emancipation of the women from their Asiatic seclusion was too hastily completed. Certain it is that no court in Europe has been flooded with such abounding licentiousness as that of Petersburg, where religion appears to exercise but little moral restraint, and the extraordinary proportion of female sovereigns, in place of elevating the sex, has only effected a general corruption of manners. Hardly less destructive is the deplorable want of *veracity* among the men; there is probably no nation in the world where both sexes have a lower conception of personal *honour*.

The features of Russian life most conspicuous in Petersburg will be found in the *sledges* and the *markets*. The former, which in the provinces are often little better than rough wooden boxes without springs, and filled with hay to save the occupant from utter dislocation, assume in the capital an air of much elegance and comfort. The vehicle is fashioned into light and fanciful shapes, wreathed with serpents, lined with scarlet cloth, and covered with the richest furs. A fine black horse, with a coat like satin, and harness gleaming with silver bosses, flies before the fairy car. "Faster! faster!" is the continual cry of the gay occupants, as they rush over the hardened snow or along the surface of the icebound Neva. Generals, princes,

nobles,—the emperor himself,—are seen vying with meaner charioteers in the rapid course.* In summer, the vehicles, lifted on wheels, splash along with equal impetuosity, though necessarily at a slower rate, through the slush and mud of the streets.

The sledges call into existence the numerous fraternity of drivers which forms a characteristic element in the Russian population. A knowledge and a love of horses seem indigenous in every native, and are, perhaps, a portion of their Tartar descent. With the exception of the Kossacks, they are not fond of riding, but man and boy, gentle and simple, will seize the reins without either teaching or practice, and drive with all the fury of a Jehu. Fearless and good-humoured, they keep on the best of terms with their steeds. The whip is only used to knock on the foot-board as a gentle reminder: it is his eloquence which the Russian charioteer trusts to in order to preserve the speed.† He accosts the animal with the most affectionate epithets, and maintains a continual colloquy all the way. “Now, my pretty pigeon, make use of thy legs. Steady, my sweetheart; take care of that stone. Come, my little father, what art turning thy head for? There, my white pigeon, that is the pace,” &c. These addresses are interrupted only to exchange a pleasant word with the traveller, or to burst out in snatches of song, in which all Russians excel. In the towns the *isvoshtshiks* form a regular calling, owning their own carriages and horses, and often travelling with them

* Another favourite amusement on the Neva is to pile up artificial hills of ice, down which the pleasure-seekers glide in rapid succession, poisoning themselves in little cockle-shell sledges, which require the nicest care to escape being overturned.

† In the country parts, however, the whip is often brought into more practical use.

from one place to another. They make the vehicle their home, and almost seem to revive the nomadic usages of their Slavonian ancestors. In the provinces the government obliges the villagers to find horses for the traveller at a very moderate charge, and any peasant or peasant's child is improvised for the *yemshtslitk*.

The markets, again, supply an inexhaustible stream of native life in Petersburg. One of the distinctive features of the Slavonian race is the love of conducting trade in fairs and other large concourses. The *Gostinnoi Dvor*, or great bazaar, is indispensable to a Russian town. It is here that native manufactures and productions are generally sold, articles imported from western Europe being retailed in shops, as in other countries. The bazaar at Petersburg is a vast building, the upper floor of which is reserved for wholesale dealings, while the ground is covered with long rows of stalls or booths, appropriated to the retail trade. The several traders congregate in their particular quarters,—the silver shops in one part, the print dealers in another; the furs in this row, the stockings in that, and the petticoats in a third. Boots, saddlery, hats, wearing apparel of all kinds, crosses, virgins, saints, amulets, with an infinite variety of church-ware, have each their allotted quarter, imparting to the general aspect the charm produced in modern gardening from planting the flowers in masses, instead of the irregular distribution of less scientific days.

The several stalls are presided over by traders in the full national costume of blue caftan, cloth or fur cap, and long, sweeping beard; a jacket of white wolfskin is added in the cold weather. The population of the city is continually changing, and as no Russian likes to buy before the want has become pressing, every kind

of ready-made article is offered in the bazaar, and its ten thousand dealers are constantly beset by an innumerable army of purchasers.

The bazaars and the markets are the best places to study the *mushik*, or "black people," as the Russian peasantry are universally denominated by their "civilized" superiors.* Thousands of peasants enter Petersburg daily in the sheepskin frock with the wool inside, which forms the ordinary village dress, not knowing whether they are to exchange it for the livery of a lackey, or the caftan of a merchant the next day. Cook or carpenter, mason or musician, all comes alike to the handy *mushik*, while the bazaar and the rag-markets stand ready to supply every want. Dealers and customers alike are "black people" there, bearded, furred, and thoroughly un-European.

Next to the vendors of crosses, pictures, and charms, the pastry-cooks' quarter is perhaps the most characteristic. Here are displayed the fish *pirogas*, to which the Russians are so passionately attached. A large pot of green oil, and a huge salt-stand, are the accompanying condiments. No sooner does the dealer catch the eye of a passer-by, than he plunges one of his delicacies into the oil, sprinkles it with salt, and presents it hot and dripping, with a bow and a compliment worthy of a prince. The true *mushik* can seldom resist the temptation while a few kopeks remain in his pouch. Seating himself on the bench, he will devour these greasy masses, one after another, till his beard shines like ebony with the overflowings of the savoury sauce!

An individual of the "great unwashed," is cer-

* The phrase *tzhornoi narod* signifies literally black people; it is explained as meaning either "dirty" or "dark." An individual of this "great unwashed" is called a *mushik*.

tainly not an attractive object. His hair and beard are long and shaggy, his person dirty, his voice loud and noisy, his sheepskin intolerably filthy. This unpromising exterior, however, conceals a lively, good-humoured, obliging nature, somewhat slavish perhaps, but essentially polite and cordial. Cheating and drinking are universal, but the address which varnishes over the first, and the impunity which seems to attend indulgence in the second, render both vices laughed at more than punished or deplored.

Little as it may be guessed from their ordinary appearance, no people in Europe indulge in the use of the *bath* so universally as the Russians. It is a necessary more than a luxury, inherited from oriental associations, though enjoyed by a process of their own. Petersburg contains an enormous number of establishments, to which the lower classes repair with eagerness every Saturday evening. Soldiers, mechanics, and labourers,—men, women, and children,—all hurry along with towels under their arms, and birch twigs in their hands. A few kopeks purchase the ticket. The bathing-room is a large wooden apartment filled with steam, which is constantly supplied from heated ovens. The opening of the door, in winter, introduces such a torrent of cold air, that the vapour freezes and descends in snow; but this alternation is by no means disagreeable to the Russian bather. On the contrary, when steaming at every pore, he calls on the attendants to pour pails of ice-cold water on his head. Some are even said to rush out and roll in the snow.

The steam enters the skin like a sponge, washing not the surface alone, but all the interior organs. To increase the effect, the bathers flog themselves all over with their twigs, till the skin is as red as a boiled lobster;

this is in place of shampooing. Excited by this penance, the beneficent warmth pervades the whole system; not only casual bruises and stiffness seem to vanish from the limbs, but cramps, rheumatism, gout, and even headache and toothache disappear under the process. A sort of intoxication of the nervous system succeeds, and no sensation remains but of exquisite pleasure. Of course, "the ills that human flesh is heir to" recur when the effect is exhausted, and possibly with greater violence than before; but the enjoyment is intense at the time, and the *mushik*, hardened and encrusted from daily toil, accounts his bath as indispensable as any member of the most civilized aristocracy. His arrangements would doubtless shock the more refined usages of the antechamber and dressing-room, but the practice, like most other native customs in all parts of the world, is conducive to health as well as enjoyment, and has the merit, rare in Russia, of being connected with some ideas of cleanliness.

In the article of public monuments, none of the older European capitals can vie with their younger sister. Brief and barren as the history of Russia appears to other nations, Petersburg abounds in columns, obelisks, statues, and triumphal arches, on which neither pains nor money have been spared. They commemorate, however, persons and events of little importance, and are generally disfigured by some defect arising from the recent, and still imperfect, domicile of the fine arts in the north.

The noblest and most celebrated is the equestrian statue of Peter the Great, erected by the Empress Catherine II. The hero is attired in the old Russian garb, galloping up a rock, from the summit of which he stretches his hand nobly out to the sea, as if grasping

the benefits to be conferred on his country, through the avenue opened to its waters by his own courage and genius. Beneath the horse's hoofs lies a dragon, intended to represent the prejudices which the imperial reformer trampled under foot, in achieving the victory of civilization. This reptile has been criticised as too feeble in design to constitute a worthy enemy, and as being, in fact, entirely neglected by the rider, whose thoughts are on the scene before him. Possibly, this very impression was intended by the artist, in compliment to the new civilization. A better reason for the dragon is found in the material support it affords to the statue, from the apparently accidental contact of the horse's tail with one of the convolutions of the reptile's body. The animal is springing freely forward, with its forelegs in the air;—an effective position which required some extraordinary counterpoise behind. For this purpose the bronze is very thin in the fore parts of the horse, and increased to several inches in the rear, while the tail, being strongly fastened to the serpent, supplies, as it were, a third leg to stand upon.

The pedestal of this noble monument is composed of one enormous block of granite, found in the morass near the city, and transported at great expense to the capital. Unfortunately, instead of leaving the rock in its native shape and size, the Russian masons scraped and chiselled it till they had deprived it of a third of its mass, and finally broke it in two. It has now the appearance of an imitation rock.

The Latin inscription, "*Petro primo Catherina Secunda*," is accompanied by a Russian translation, equally concise, "*Petramu Pervomu, Catherina Vtovaya*;" Catherine the Second to Peter the First. The antithesis between the "first" and the "second" expresses

Catherine's desire to be considered as the finisher of what Peter had begun ; another instance of the vanity which so often induces the living to mingle their own commendations with the tribute they affect to pay to the dead.

Peter's statue is appropriately placed in the city which he created, but the Russian character finds its truest expression in *Moscow*, the ancient and typical capital of the nation. The empire itself is Muscovite more than Russian ; every genuine native loves the " holy and white-stoned mother " with a devotion equal to what is felt for " God and the Emperor." They who have never seen it cling to it with a passionate longing ; every one takes off his hat at the first glimpse of its towers and cupolas, and no inhabitant bids adieu to "*nasha drevnaya stolnitsa* " (our old capital) without tears in his eyes.

All travellers speak of the striking effect of this city at first sight. The numerous spires, domes, and minarets glittering with colour and gold, the natural elevation of the Kremlin, and the fanciful beauty of the strange, irregular structures piled on every side, impart a unique magnificence, which is nothing lessened by the semi-barbarous aspect of the whole. In the interior, the houses are thickly planted in some parts, and scattered in spacious gardens in others. None of the streets are straight. " The road is sometimes up-hill, sometimes down, passing through the bottom of a valley, or rising to a height that commands a view of the gold-crowned Kremlin and of the hundred parishes of Moscow with their numerous churches. On the one side roofs and cupolas gleam to the extreme verge of the horizon ; on the other we behold the suburbs with their villas, meadows, and woods, and get an occasional

glimpse beyond the encircling wall of earth over the wide, uncultivated 'black field,' where the winds and powers of nature revel free and uncontrolled." *

"The architecture of Moscow, since the conflagration of 1812, is not quite so *bizarre* as, according to the accounts of travellers, it was before that event; nevertheless it is singular enough. It has all the charms of a new city, with the pleasing negligence and picturesque irregularity of an old one. In the streets of modern Moscow we come now to a large, magnificent palace, with all the pomp of Corinthian pillars, wrought-iron trellis-work, and magnificent approaches and gateways; and now to a simple whitewashed house, the abode of a modest citizen's family. Near them stands a small church, with green cupolas and golden stars. Then comes a row of little yellow wooden houses, that remind us of the old Moscow, and these are succeeded by one of the new colossal erections for some public institution. Sometimes the road winds through a number of little streets; we fancy ourselves in a country town; suddenly it rises, and we are in a wide 'place,' from which streets branch off to all quarters of the world, while the eye wanders over the forest of houses of the great capital: we descend again, and come in the middle of the town to the banks of a river planted thickly with gardens and woods." †

"Very few houses in Moscow possess wells; nearly all the water used is drawn from the few stone basins in the streets. The manner in which the people draw the water is extraordinarily rude and simple. They drive the carts on which the barrels are placed close to the basin, bale out the water in little pails to which long poles are fastened, and from the pails, without any

medium of spout or funnel, into the square bung-hole of the cask. Their aim is certainly remarkably good, and the greater part of the water goes into the barrel, but enough runs over, notwithstanding, to make a constant swamp in the summer, and a very inconvenient hill of ice in the winter. This waste is the more unpardonable, because the water is brought, with much labour and great cost, by the canal of *Sukhareva Bushnia*, that is, the tower of Sukhareff. The water rises seventeen versts from Moscow, is brought by an aqueduct to within three versts, and there raised by a steam-engine erected by the Emperor Nicolas, and impelled into the basin of the tower, whence it is carried to the different basins in the city. The water pours into the basin of the tower from a silver vessel, placed on one side, which sends out constantly fifty streams, each an inch in diameter. The Russian eagle, likewise of silver, expands his wings over these fifty fountains; and on the wall, above all, the picture of a saint is suspended, under whose auspices all this labour is carried on. Such a guardian is placed over every spring used by man in Russia." *

The rivers and ponds participate the sacred influence by means of a consecration, called the Jordan festival, which is celebrated three times a year. In the winter, a circle having been marked off on the frozen surface, and enclosed with birch twigs, a square hole is broken in the centre, and the priests arriving in procession celebrate a service with incense and singing, after which a cross is plunged into the hole, and the water is pronounced pure for man and fishes. The people rush in with bottles, jugs, pails, and decanters, to supply themselves with the consecrated element, and

a noisy struggle ensues which shall secure the precious drops which had been in actual contact with the cross. The Russians seem to be thoroughly persuaded that everything not consecrated by benedictions and crossings, is un-Christian and under the dominion of the fiend.

The Acropolis and Capitol of Moscow is the Kremlin, a triangular enclosure surrounded by a lofty wall with several towers. Its sacred and triumphal entrance the *Spass Vorota*, or gate of the Redeemer, over which hangs a picture of the Saviour under a glass, with a massive, old-fashioned lamp burning before it. The picture is placed so high and is so much faded that its subject cannot be made out from the ground; few Russians know what it represents. Still it is an object of universal reverence. Every one takes off his hat and crosses himself on approaching it; the former mark of obeisance is rigorously exacted even from foreigners, Jews, Mohammedans, and heathen. This gate conducts to a passage through the tower about twenty paces in length, along the whole of which the head is required to be uncovered. Carriages and four arriving at full speed, slacken their pace at the sacred gate, while lord and lackey reverently cross themselves and drive through hat in hand. Numerous miracles invest this holy spot in the belief of the natives. Not only were Tartars repulsed by a mysterious power in the olden days, but the French of Napoleon's army are declared to have recognised the holy influence. The ladders by which they attempted to reach the sacred picture all broke in the middle, the cannon levelled at it would not explode, or burst and killed the artillerymen. The sacrilegious wretches were obliged to withdraw, leaving the picture and its frame (which was

erroneously supposed to be of gold) without injury or disturbance.

Another holy gate in the Kremlin is presided over by St. Nicolas, who has also his wonder-working picture over the entrance. Here Napoleon's powder-waggons exploded and rent the tower as far up as the *icon*, which arrested the destruction. •

The Kremlin was formerly inhabited by the czars, whose palace remained till the invasion of 1812, when it was so extensively destroyed by the French as to render a restoration impossible. The "Terema," and the "Coronation Hall" alone remain, and have been carefully restored.

Terema, or *Terem*, is the Russian name for the upper story of the house, formerly appropriated to the women. In the peasants' houses it is still guarded by a balcony under the projecting roof, whence the Juliets of Russian ballad gave audience to their enamoured Romeos. This part of the Czar's palace preserves the peculiar architecture of the ancient times. It consists of four stories, the upper ones receding within the lower, like the pagoda in Kew Gardens. Steps ascend from one balcony or terrace to another: these were the apartments and promenade of the czarinas and their children, while on the ground-floor the audience-chamber and throne of the czars are still shown. The walls are covered with foliage, vine-trellises, and flowers, woven in strange confusion, and gorgeously painted. Yellow, blue, gold, and silver birds perch on the branches, clusters of costly fruit are hanging down, all mixed with little portraits, faces, and armorial bearings.

One of the balconies is connected with the little church of *Spassa solotoyu rishotkoyu* (the Redeemer behind the golden Balustrade). This was plundered by

the French, but ["]magnificently refurnished by Alexander and Nicolas.

The "Coronation Hall" is a low, vaulted apartment, sustained by a square pillar in the centre. The walls are hung with crimson velvet: it contains the throne on which the emperor dines with his nobles after the ceremony in the cathedral. It has been built into the Great Palace of the Emperor Alexander, of which it forms the second floor.

The "Little Palace," built by Nicolas, contains, among other curiosities, some of the loaves presented to that emperor on his visits to the ancient capital. On such occasions, the *Golova*, or mayor, meets the emperor after the ancient custom with bread and salt, requesting the Czar to "eat the bread of Moscow." His majesty breaks a piece and eats it, and then invites the mayor to taste of *his* bread at a magnificent repast. The rolls employed in this ceremony are similar to those used at the eucharist, being in the shape of a cup and saucer reversed, with a seal impressed by a priest.

The Kremlin was doubtless the original settlement, and became the natural centre of the later city. Next to this fortified hill is the oldest part of Moscow, called *Kitai Gorod*, or Chinese town; the remainder of the town is disposed in successive rings encircling this centre; these, again, are intersected by other streets, radiating from the Kremlin to the outer circumference. The elevated plateau in the middle is crowned with thirty-two churches and several palaces, of the most fantastic architecture, rich with colour and gold, and surmounted by two hundred cupolas and towers, among which is the Great Ivan, the loftiest elevation in Moscow. The picturesque and interesting city is pierced

and encircled by two rivers, the *Moskva* and the *Yausa*, besides some smaller streams. None are of any political or commercial importance, but the first is dear to Muscovite associations, both as supplying the name of their darling city, and as the scene of several repulses of the enemy, which have occasioned it to be called "the girdle of the Mother of God." •

The next great feature of Moscow is undoubtedly its extraordinary number of churches, a number not even accurately determined. Some accounts mention 1500, some only 500, while others reduce it to 260. This diversity is occasioned by the various methods of counting, some including all the chapels in cathedrals, private dwellings and convents, which have often four or five supplementary churches dependent on the principal one. Others take only the separate and independent churches: in this way, the church of the Protection of the Holy Virgin might be reckoned either as one or as twelve. Many of these buildings are profusely adorned with the precious metals. The central cupola of the church of the Annunciation (where the French stabled their horses), is crowned by a huge cross of real gold. Napoleon had heard of this treasure, but mistaking its locality, ordered the cross of the Great Ivan to be taken down in its stead, and found it to be only wood covered with gilding. The real prize remained undiscovered, — another proof of the miraculous guardianship that watches over this holy city!

Miracles, indeed, are still freely wrought, according to vulgar belief, in many of the churches of Moscow. It was not long ago that a new saint was created, and others are popularly believed to be preparing for the honour by occasional wonders.

It may be concluded that the clergy are not the least

influential class in Moscow. The convents exceed twenty in number, including the *Devitshei Monastir*, or Maidens' Convent, where the victims of Peter I., Sophia and Eudocia, were confined and now lie interred, the *Tshudoff*, or Monastery of the Miracle, the ancient seat of the metropolitans of Moscow, and the *Greek* convent, an offshoot of the celebrated house on Mount Athos. It is a curious fact that these Greeks rejoice in their parent convent remaining under the Turkish sceptre, instead of that of King Otho, whom, though a Christian, they despise as at once a petty sovereign and a papist. All the convents are in a declining state, from the general decay of monkery in Russia. The monks themselves complain of the contempt into which their order has fallen, and individuals occasionally return to a secular life by permission of the emperor.

Formerly all the chief nobles made their principal residence in Moscow : of the 8000 private houses, which the city contained sixty or seventy years ago, upwards of 3000 belonged to the nobles. The great lord dwelt in the midst of a crowd of domestic serfs, like an Asiatic pacha : more than half the population consisted of these magnates and their retinue. After the conflagration all was changed. The nobles dismissed their excessive followings to pursue industrial occupations wherever fortune might lead them, while they themselves either followed the court to Petersburg, or were content to make their winter residence in the several capitals of the provincial governments, which have hence been considerably augmented in importance.

Moscow became instead the great industrial centre of the empire. The hotels and palaces of the nobles passed to the merchants and shopkeepers. The manufacturer, with his thousand workmen, has replaced the

seigneur and his thousand serfs.* Nay, many of the nobles, discovering the value of these new sources of wealth, have become miners and manufacturers themselves, and cover their estates with workshops and forges.

The Muscovites seem to have an innate aptitude for trade, ready to display itself in any form that may turn up. The shops and tables of the money-changers are often served by children of seven or eight years old, who copy the long caftan and shrewd address of their elders to perfection. The juvenile vendors of fruit and *kwass* handle their reckoning-boards with an acuteness that marks the future millionaire. Moscow, in a word, may be considered the paradise of Russian priests and traders. The *Gostinnoi dvor* and the second-hand markets are on a still larger scale than at Petersburg. The former is a colossal building of three stories, and, from year's end to year's end it holds a continual fair. From the Black Sea and the Baltic, from Siberia and China, the whole interior traffic centres in this bazaar. The "rows" contain not less than 1200 shops, thronged by Persians, Bokharians, Tartars, and Greeks, in addition to the native Russ and all kinds of Western Europeans. Pictures of saints, with their lighted tapers or lamps, gleam on every beam. Singing-birds in cages make the long passages vocal with their warbling. Flocks of pigeons nestle and coo under the eaves. In the midst of these protectors and companions, the gay and varied population bargain, laugh, gossip, drink tea, and play at football or draughts.

A great space is occupied by the dealers in wax lights, of which holy Moscow consumes three times as many as the more secular capital on the Neva. Another manufacture of unadulterated Russian taste is the article

of "*caricatures*," for so we must designate it, though doubtless originating in a religious intention. The subjects are still mostly religious or mythological, sometimes oddly intermingled with one another. The symbolical figures of the Apocalypse, and the four ancient empires, are constant favourites, though strangely metamorphosed from their Greek originals, and occasionally embellished by native wit. Above all, the devil and his adjutant, *Gospodin Sträptshik*, are frequently depicted, and are far more popular than angels of celestial hue.

One of these productions, purchased by M. Kohl, was entitled the "gold devil," and exhibited a very effective satire on the universal thirst for money. "The devil, painted purple, is hovering over the world; from hand, foot, mouth, and nose gold is falling in abundance, and golden ducats are creeping like vermin from under his hair. His adjutant, *Gospodin Sträptshik*, rides behind him on a yellow monstrosity, which he is flogging with Mercury's wand. On the ground men are sprawling to catch the golden shower. A *baker* has fastened a thick rope round the devil, and is pulling the fiend to him. A shoemaker has a weak thread round the great toe of the tailed enemy, and will not, it may easily be seen, be able to do much with him. A hotel keeper has heaped up his tuns and barrels, with wine running out at one end, and gold running in at the other, while, thirstier than his guests, he holds a glass up to catch the gold that is falling sideways. A lady stands near in her finery, and the whole abundance of Russian beauty, that is, with a thick plaster of red paint on each cheek, and an *embonpoint* that a beer tun might envy. A priest stands with his foot on the stool of his pulpit, one hand held out in a preaching attitude,

while the other extends his mitre[•] to catch the fertilizing shower which the devil rains down upon him with both hands. Close to the priest is a church vessel, having a mighty ray of gold streaming into it. The oddest fancy is the artist himself, on whose shoulders dance a couple of squirrels; to his cap a multitude of butterflies are attached, fluttering at the end of a thread, and his head-dress is also larded with pens and pencils. He stands afar off where none of the gold shower reaches, and fires a pistol in the air. Apart from the turmoil sits, as a quiet observer, a little ape; he has one hand raised, as if preaching to the mob, none of whom heed him. The label appended I could not decipher."*

Every Russian delights in travelling; to visit foreign parts is the first desire of the educated classes. The nobles think little of periodical visits of a thousand or fifteen hundred versts from the capital to their country estates. Officials are perpetually journeying between Petersburg and all parts of the empire, and in the remotest village not a few of the serfs, either as domestics or fortune-seekers, have visited Moscow. Russian travelling is by no means confined to the summer months; on the contrary, in many parts the wretched state of the roads in a thaw makes the winter the favourite time, when the sledge glides rapidly over the hard snow, and the frosty air rings merrily to the tinkle of its bells. Night is frequently preferred to day; the Russian sleeps soundly on his large feather cushions, or meaner substitute, and so beguiles the long and often utterly uninteresting journey.

The aged noble embarks on his journeys in a stately coach-and-five, three abreast at the wheels, and two in front. The chances of accident, and the difficulty of

* Kohl. "Moscow Second-hand Markets."

obtaining repairs in 'the country, make younger and humbler travellers prefer the native equipage, *droshkies*, *telegas*, or *tarantasses*.* These are different varieties of carts without springs, firmly fastened on wheels or sledges, and 'driven with one, two, or three horses, the last harnessed abreast (*troitka*). The vehicle is usually long enough to lie down in, and fitted with a leather hood, like a *britschka*. The traveller who requires more than the common food of the peasants must lay in his provisions before starting; even such small ware as needles, threads, and tapes have to be provided in the towns. This necessity, and the incessant journeying, make the bazaars and second-hand clothes markets almost indispensable.

A certain portion of the free peasants enjoy their tenure of land on condition of supplying horses, carriages, and drivers for the traveller when required. They are called *Yemshiky* (drivers); every thirty have to find a *troitska* and driver, for which a small sum is paid by the traveller; but the remuneration being only about 7*d.* a mile for four horses, force is often used to compel their services. Many of this class are flourishing farmers, and grow rich.

The provincial governments have each a capital town, embellished with public offices in the imperial style, and latterly with the winter residences of many of the nobles. Most of these cities, as well as the smaller country towns, seem to be built, like Petersburg, more for the future than the present. Vast unoccupied spaces are enclosed within their walls, which, with the number of cupolas rising above the roofs, give the appearance of a much larger

* The country *droshky* is little more than a bench, on which the traveller sits astride, as on a velocipede, behind the driver. The *telega* is a kind of waggon, and the *tarantasse* is like a cask sawn in half, lengthwise.

place than the reality. A town of 12,000 or 13,000 inhabitants has the air, at a distance, of a considerable city ; on entering, it turns out to consist only of a long, wide street, with an enormous *place* or square, bordered by a few two-storied stone houses ; all the rest are wooden huts planted in their separate yards as in the country villages. •

The villages themselves affect the same model. The houses, instead of being scattered singly and irregularly like English cottages, are drawn up in a wide, straight street, defying all ordinary limitations of length. Every peasant builds for himself when he marries and sets up in life, and as no one is content to fall behind his neighbours, the new house is planted by the side of its predecessors, and the street is indefinitely prolonged.

The houses are entirely of wood, having the gable end to the street, and each is surrounded by a court or yard. The floor is elevated ten or twelve feet above the ground, the intermediate space being used as a receptacle for cattle and poultry. The dwelling above is entered by a staircase ascending from the side court, and lighted by three windows in the end towards the street, the garret in the roof has a single window opening into a balcony, which represents the ancient *terema* ; it is still used as the sleeping-chamber of the spinsters. In the better class of houses, the balcony is supported on pillars, and expands into a gallery carried across the whole front of the gable. The projecting eaves and beams are often richly ornamented with carving done by the hatchet, the peasant's only tool, and in the use of which they are all singularly expert. • The wealthier peasants further embellish their abodes by painting the exterior in gaudy colours, green for the walls and red for the roof being the favourite hues. The majority

are content to exhibit their projecting beams only blackened through time.

The deep overhanging roofs, with the galleries and stairs outside, impart to these dwellings something of the appearance of the Swiss *châlets*, but the interior arrangement is very different. The principal apartment is furnished with a bench running along the four walls, which serves at once for seat by day and bedstead by night. A huge brick stove stands in the middle with an oven for cooking, and in winter the beds are spread on its top. One corner of the room contains the sacred picture with a light burning before it, while against the walls are suspended the spinning-wheel, cooking-utensils, and other household apparatus. A trap-door in the floor communicates with the sheep, pigs, fowls, ducks and geese in the inclosure below, the state of which is seldom very agreeable or wholesome. The horse-stable is in the rear, with a shed for storing provisions, and a little garden full of onions, radishes, turnips, and cucumbers. The last-named esculent constitutes one of the chief articles of food, and is so universally relished in Russia, that girls may be seen plucking and eating them like fruit. Another indispensable outhouse is the *bath*.

The family inhabiting such a house is generally pretty numerous. The Russian peasant is essentially a family man, and provides himself with voluntary relations when nature fails in her supply. He will adopt not only children, but father and mother, if occasion require, and the ties so created are not less respected than those of blood. Elderly widowers and widows thus find a home without contracting a second marriage, which would be contrary to usage. A household visited by Baron Harthausen, consisted of a man, his wife, and

five children, with the mother and sister of a former wife, and, to crown all, an old male relation of the mother-in-law, who, though an utter stranger in blood, was installed at the head of the family, and governed as absolutely as any patriarch among his own descendants.

The usual articles of food among the poorer classes are black or rye-bread, cabbage-soup, cucumbers, onions, and *kwass*, a thin, sour kind of beer. Nothing acid, whether raw vegetables or sour fruits, comes amiss to a Russian. The cabbage-soup (*shtshee*) is the favourite national dish, and is variously prepared. Six or seven cabbages, chopped up, half a pound of barley-meal, a quarter of a pound of butter, a couple of pounds of mutton cut up, and a handful of salt, stewed in two cans of *kwass*, make an ordinary mess. The very poor omit the butter and mutton; the richer classes substitute broth for *kwass*, and enrich the dish with cream and other ingredients. Tea and coffee are of universal use. The former is much better than in England, and though never costing less than from 4s. 6d. to 7s. 6d. a pound, is drunk two or three times a day by the middling and lower classes. The *samoovar*, or bright brass tea-urn, smokes on every respectable board. Tea is hawked about the cities "all hot" in winter, and drunk out of tumblers with a slice of lemon in each; a little rum is not unfrequently infused. The fashionable "yellow tea," lately introduced into the higher circles, costs three or four guineas a pound, and the price of "flower tea," which is in general use, ranges from ten shillings to two pounds. The passion for this foreign article is so universal, that it ranks with the national cabbage-soup; and it is a common saying, that the three gods of the Russians are *Tshin*, *Tshai*, and *Shtshee*.

The use of tea and coffee has to some extent diminished the vast consumption of *vodka*, or "little water," as the peasant endearingly entitles his darling rye-brandy. Still, the consumption of this fiery liquid is enormous, and in the southern parts, where the nobles cannot otherwise dispose of their abundant crops, its manufacture and use are perniciously encouraged. Meat is almost always boiled, pickled, or salted, seldom smoked or roasted.

The villages are far from being devoted, as in other countries, to the pursuits of agriculture. On the contrary many are inhabited solely by manufacturers, and very often by one and the same description of workmen. One village consists entirely of hatters, another of tailors, another of workers in metal and hardware. In one nothing is made but tables and chairs, in another the whole population is embroidering leather for boots and slippers; an art which, acquired originally from the Tartars, has been brought to great perfection in Russia. So far is the distribution of labour carried, that in the lincn manufacture, the thread is spun in one village and woven in another. This is part of the national character; a similar love of *association* has created the bazaars in which the native productions are disposed of.

Some of these manufacturing villages were founded by Peter the Great, and still consist of the foreign population then introduced. Others are wholly Russian, devoted to manufactures by the crown, or other lord, who levies an *obrok* from the community in the mass, leaving it to themselves to settle the individual incidence of the tax.

This appears to have been the ancient practice in the agricultural villages also, and it greatly explains the origin and nature of Russian servitude. The original

bondsmen, as already stated, were either prisoners of war or criminals sentenced to slavery by the law. The peasants were free, farming the lands from the nobles on a yearly lease, which expired on St. George's Day. The peculiarity was that the villagers formed themselves into a *community*, an essential feature in the Slavonic character, as in the Hindu. The lands were rented in a sort of partnership, the individual interest being arranged among themselves. Hence, when the lease was given up, the whole community might remove in a body, and the lord would be put to a difficulty to find another set of tenants. To remedy this inconvenience, the several princes made laws against migrating into a different principality, and this restriction being extended by Boris Godunoff to the particular estate, converted the peasants into serfs.

Still their condition was very different from that of the *dvorovie*, or slave who attended on his owner's person. The rural serf could not be separated from the estate, nor consequently from his family and the village community. The latter always preserved its organization and character. The estates were few on which the nobles resided, and the general practice was to leave the lands to the peasantry, exacting a tribute or tax from the village, much as the rent was levied before. Indeed, there was probably no intention of changing the peasant's condition at all, in depriving him of the power of removal. No law or ukase actually authorizes serfdom up to the present hour; it is the practical consequence of placing the poor man at the mercy of the rich, and subjecting both to an arbitrary government.

Peter I., by allowing a serf to be sold alone, like a slave, introduced the pricing of individuals instead of the community. The serf became liable to be

hired out to another master, or to have a trade assigned to him at the discretion of the proprietor, a fixed sum or a proportion of his earnings being paid to the latter. These are infractions of the original right effected by arbitrary power, and the very civilization of Russia has, in this way, tended to the injury of the unhappy peasantry.*

Before the introduction of arts and manufactures, the nobles were content to receive a moderate tribute from each village, leaving the produce to be shared and disposed of by the community. Their condition was much like that of a Hindu village, where it is disputed whether the fee be in the lord or the cultivator. The serf had his title in the soil as well as the noble, and he was preserved in its enjoyment by the certainty that if the village were too heavily taxed, the whole would fall to ruin, and the owner get nothing. It was then always recognised that a portion of the serf's labour was his own; even where a resident lord demanded individual labour instead of a general *obrok*, the law restricted his claim to three days in the week. The remainder belonged to the serf, which explains how he could be possessed of property, though himself accounted the property of another.

The introduction of manufactures materially altered these relations. The lord assumed the right of employing his serf's whole time in any kind of labour which promised remuneration. The materials were found by the owner and the profits appropriated to himself, paying no wages to the labourer beyond his food and clothing. This system produced, of course, but indifferent workmen, and the nobles generally were obliged

* A singular relic of the Tartar tyranny is, that the peasants are still distinguished by the denomination of "Christians."

to hand over the speculation to the serfs themselves, by granting them permission to work as they pleased, on payment of their annual *obrok*. This arrangement proved highly acceptable to the Russian youth, fond of travelling and always averse to the arduous labours of tilling an ungrateful soil. Passionately attached to his country, the Russian has still so much of the nomad in his disposition as to care little for his native place. He eagerly avails himself of permission to make his fortune in the world as a pedlar, merchant, carpenter, or any kind of manufacturer. Light in temper and facile of hand, he adapts himself to every trade, and finds a new home in every portion of the heterogeneous empire. The progress of wealth has had the further effect of handing over the estates of ancient families, ruined by luxury, to new proprietors enriched by official plunder. All tends to destroy the ancient ties between the lord and the serf; — to make the latter more impatient of his position, and servitude itself a source of continual alarm to every intelligent Russian.

The large domains of the crown and the church, as well as many other estates, are administered on the ancient system of *obrok*. Every village has its *starosta*, or elder, chosen by general suffrage. A *dessiudsky*, or tithing-man, is also elected for every ten fathers of families. These constitute the village organization. Above it is the *rural community* (*selskoe obschestvo*), which contains several villages and five or six hundred heads of families; the community is governed by a *starchina* (district elder), elected by the deputies of the several villages. Several of these communities, again, form a *volost*, which is under a *golova* (headman), elected for three years, and confirmed by the provincial governor. All these institutions have their own tribu-

nals, invested with a graduated jurisdiction, and forming a local government within certain limits. The evil is, that all are powerless, like every other institution in Russia, against the arbitrary violence of the lord and the imperial authorities.

Of the sixty million inhabitants of Russia, twelve millions are still practically serfs chained to the soil. About an equal number are "free peasants," that is, free to work for themselves on paying their *obrok* to the lord, except where this tax has been remitted or redeemed by purchase. The free class includes nine million of crown peasants, a few of whom are endowed as *Yemshiky*, and a larger number hold land and receive wages for working in the forests. Nearly half a million are employed, with wages, on other crown domains, and the remainder choose their own occupation. Above a million have been altogether liberated.

The serfs sustain the weight of the conscription by which the Russian army is fed. Every noble is obliged to furnish his contingent, selected at his pleasure. The conscript remains enrolled in his community, and after completing his term of service returns a free man. His liberty, however, is of an unprofitable kind. Unless employed as a domestic or official, he soon spends his money, parts with the land which he cannot cultivate, and sinks into a pauper.

The natives of Great Russia are a handsome, ingenuous race of people. Deformity, lameness, or baldness is seldom seen. Though less given to continuous labour than the English or Germans, they are more patient of cold and heat, hunger, fatigue, and pain. They retain their good looks to a very advanced age. Men of three score and ten may be seen at the plough, with flowing locks and beard of snow, such as a painter

would covet for a study of a patriarch. The women are less prepossessing; small in stature, and inclined to be stout, peculiarities not improved by the prevalent habit of fastening the dress at the throat instead of the waist. Both sexes are fond of dancing; but the men excel in vivacity of movement, and often dance together with vehement gestures of delight. The women also sing less than the men, whose voices are generally powerful and often extremely sweet and melodious.

The dress of the Russian peasant is simple, and, when the sheepskin jacket, universal in winter, is laid aside, decidedly picturesque. It consists of a *caftan*, or long coat of grey, brown, or blue cloth, girded round the body with a gay belt or sash; wide trousers, stuffed *inside* a long boot, invest the lower limbs. Very often the caftan is dispensed with, and the rustic appears in his red cotton shirt, worn *over* the trousers like a tunic, and girded with a sash. The boots are exchanged in summer for *laptis*, a kind of slipper made of green bark, and tied sandal-fashion over a roll of calico which is wrapped round the leg in place of a stocking. This curious bandage is universal, and effectually disappoints the mosquitoes by which the country is infested.

The chief articles of female attire are the *sarafan* and the *kokoshnik*. The former is a crimson cotton or silk skirt, striped down the front with gold braid, and dotted with small hanging gold buttons. The skirt is full, but has an extremely shallow boddice, suspended by broad straps over the shoulder. The sleeves are short, admitting those of the fine white chemise to pass through and fasten at the wrist with a gold bracelet. Their fulness is tied in by another band at the elbow. The robe is sometimes open and sometimes loosely girt with a cord at the waist. A long white apron, striped

with gay ribbons, is occasionally added in summer, and in winter a short pelisse, bearing the singular name of a "*soul warmer*."

The kokoshnik is a kind of crescent-shaped tiara, enclosing the head and face like a *halo*. It is called also a *pavonik*, from resembling a peacock's tail, and is covered with gold or silver cloth, silk, satin, or velvet, embroidered with spangles. Long ribbons and scarves, fluttering down the back of the neck, increase the effect. This elegant head-dress is exchanged by the humbler classes, when at their work, for a coloured handkerchief tied under the chin. The shoes, which are of cloth of gold or silver, are generally carried in the hand, wrapped up in a handkerchief, and only donned for the dance or other state occasion. The Russian maiden, however, does not walk barefoot like a Highland lassie, but defends her lower extremities from frost and insects by *laptis*, or in winter by boots of a most ungainly appearance. The national costume was ordered by the Emperor Nicolas to be worn by the ladies at court, and a splendid appearance it makes. The *sarafan* of velvet richly embroidered with gold is worn open, over a silk dress with long sleeves. The *kokoshnik*, richly set with jewels and pearls, crowns the head like a diadem, and a long veil, descending from its back, completes the queenly appearance.

A curious custom still exists in some parts of the country, which was anciently universal. The marriageable girls assemble in their best attire on some open place at Whitsuntide, and stand in a long row — the favourite order of arrangement in Russia, both for things and persons — while the bachelors saunter along the line in quest of a partner for life. No wooing is permitted on the spot: the damsel is not put to

the blush by word or sign, but must be afterwards sought and won in private. This custom is a relic of the times when girls were betrothed by their parents after the oriental fashion; and this singular review was the means of showing the intended lord his bargain before the transaction was completed. The mother, or match-maker, standing behind sufficiently indicated the fair one's identity. In this way the Czar Alexis selected the mother of Peter the Great, but one of Peter's reforms was to abolish the power of betrothing previously to a personal acquaintance. Whit-Monday therefore is now only an opportunity for seeing who there is to marry and how the exterior suits. Still the occasion is not without its effect. The blue eyes and red hair of the handsome swain enlist the favour of the maidens, and youths are still as susceptible as ever of the rounded beauty and elegant costume of the charmers. As a matter of fact, marriages follow fast upon Whitsuntide; many are celebrated the next day, and more are arranged.

Russia is certainly the politest country in the world towards the fair sex; no other extends to them so much of the privileges, with so little of the burdens, of society. The shops, though often the property of women, are served entirely by men; even the milliners only employ females as workwomen. Out-door labour of every kind is undertaken by the rougher sex: in-doors, also, they relieve the women of the heavier portions of the domestic work, such as carrying wood and water, and lighting the fires; even the stove in a lady's bedchamber is kindled by a male attendant. The hotels, in like manner, employ no female servants. The town population is, consequently, far more largely composed of men than of women; in the villages, too, females are

less frequently seen in the fields or streets. Their province is in the house, and in the remoter districts the oriental tradition is still strong enough to make a male visitor so much of a curiosity, that the women gather at the doors as he comes in sight, and rapidly disappear on his nearer approach.

In the higher circles no expense is spared on the education of girls. English, French, and German are usual accomplishments, and enormous salaries are willingly given to competent tutors and governesses.* Three or four thousand roubles a year is a usual stipend for a private tutor, and twice as much in the more distant provinces. Teachers, indeed, of all kinds, foreign and native, meet with great encouragement in Russia; their number is still few, and their emoluments large. The educational establishments of the great cities are often presided over by doctors and court councillors, while private teachers drive their coach-and-four. A leading professor in Moscow receives 60 or 70 roubles for a single lesson; 20 or 25 is an ordinary charge in the arts, and 10 for a common lesson by an "examined" teacher.

These costly advantages are bestowed as freely on the daughters as the sons; hence no ladies in Europe, perhaps, are better instructed than the higher ranks of the Russian nobility. It is to be lamented that moral and religious principles are too often less carefully instilled, and the comforts and duties of *home* are comparatively little understood. *

The best result of this ambitious training is when the Russian noble and his accomplished wife retire from the dissipations of the capital to diffuse their benevolence

* M. Kohl met a Russian noble who had engaged seven governesses for himself and his friends, and had them all with him in three calèches. Englishwomen are in constant requisition as nursemaids

and knowledge among the labourers who produce their wealth. No human being, perhaps, enjoys so large a sphere for doing good as the well-instructed, well-principled lord of one of these vast estates. In many cases, the prejudice, indolence, or passion of the nobles have made their residence a terror to the unhappy serf, who desires nothing more than to purchase his lord's absence by the highest *obrok* he can afford. But there are, happily, other instances, where the owner dwells among his people in the fear of God and the love of his kind, spending himself in good works. The condition of the serf then appears so favourable, in comparison with the peasantry of other countries, that visitors have been led to doubt the evils of servitude, and the serf himself to question the benefit of emancipation. Under such a proprietor, there is reality in the phraseology which designates the house, wife, and children of the lord by the affectionate epithet of "ours." The peasants feel themselves members of the family more than dependants of the great man. Well fed, not overworked, with a good house and a family that excites no anxieties for its sustenance, he asks what can freedom do more for him? On the other hand, what could be worse than to have no patron, no resources to fall back upon, nothing but his own labour to look to — in bad seasons as well as good, in sickness no less than in health? Many thousand Russians would, no doubt, vastly prefer the chance of an occasional flogging to these tremendous contingencies. Even the serfs are far from feeling themselves slaves; they address their lord with a frank respect, the simplicity of which is truly dignified; they kiss the hand of his wife or daughter as politely as a courtier, receiving the lady's salute on the forehead, in return, as a matter of course. Little

heeding the foreign title of count or baron, they accost their superiors in the national form by the Christian name and patronymic. The lord is *Nicola Petrovitch* (Nicolas, son of Peter); and the lady *Ekaterina Petrovna* (Catherine, Peter's daughter); and this to their faces not less than behind their backs.*

With all this frankness and simplicity, the peasant is intensely jealous of traditional usages and rights, averse to innovation, and irritated by any interference with his household arrangements. To ameliorate his condition is a task as delicate as it is benevolent. A kind and judicious lord is in their eyes little less than a god, but they become impracticable and even dangerous under rash and oppressive management. A village has been known to go in a body to a benevolent noble, to entreat him to purchase them, offering the money from their own savings. Another rose upon the lord and lady, and kept them prisoners in their own mansion, till the emperor should grant an investigation into their conduct.

The Russians have been compared to the French on account of the gaiety and levity of their manners; but the native character and institutions much more closely resemble those of Hindustan. It requires much the same largeness of view, accompanied by similar temper and tact, to elevate the lower classes as in India. Local and social influences are needed more than central and legislative measures, and unhappily these are not easily supplied from among the generality of the Russian nobles. The change to be effected by the emancipation will, therefore, be of very slow progress. It was comparatively easy for the imperial reformer to spread a thin

* This mode of speaking is general among the Russians. A lady of rank inquires for another at her door in the simple phrase, *Elizavetta Petrovna dom?* Is Elizabeth the daughter of Peter at home?

coat of varnish over the exterior of the empire, but the inner life of a nation is altered only by slow and judicious applications. Peter himself could do little with the clergy and the Old Believers. His method of introducing commerce and manufactures was to break down the natives by foreign competition. The strelitz he exterminated, while he only tightened the bonds of the serfs. The Emperor Nicolas was sincerely desirous of alleviating the condition of this class of his subjects; but one of his warmest admirers admits that, during his long reign, the serf became more of a vassal and a chattel than before.* Personal liberty is not so independent of political franchises as despots choose to imagine, nor can any amount of good intentions secure the enjoyment of natural rights, where justice is the vassal of an arbitrary government. The first step in the practical amelioration of the condition of the peasantry must be to protect them against arbitrary and irresponsible tyranny. This alone would require a thorough remodeling of the *tshinofnik*, with an entirely new system for the administration of justice.

The emancipation of the serf demands further the moral and political elevation of the nobles on whom they depend. They must be encouraged to deliberate in their provincial assemblies on all that affects the welfare of their country. The attempt to degrade them into the tools of an arbitrary minister at Petersburg must be exchanged for an honest endeavour to employ the patriotism and intelligence of the upper classes in the regeneration of the country. Public opinion, too, needs to be enlightened and strengthened by according a generous

* "The serf, under the progressive rule of the Emperor Nicolas, is more a vassal than of yore, a chattel of his lord."—*Six Years' Travel in Russia by an English Lady*, vol. ii. 178.

liberty to thought and speech. Above all, the Holy Scriptures must be released from restraint, and speeded through the land as the very fountain of truth and honesty.

Lastly, the great work by which Alexander II. hopes to ennoble his reign, imperatively requires the abandonment of the *war-policy*, which more or less characterized all his predecessors. The long-cherished passion for territorial aggrandizement must be laid aside. A great reduction of the army, and a reform of the finances, are indispensable. Internal resources can only be developed by a resolute concentration of the national energies on the employments of peace.

Such are, apparently, the genuine aspirations of the young monarch, whose accession seems to have struck a new note in the hearts of the Russian nation. If it please God to crown his endeavours with success, a great future is assuredly in store for the people over which he is called to preside. Let us hope that his era, rising above the instincts of physical force, will be distinguished by the moral and religious development of an empire already sufficiently aggrandized. The Russians are universally allowed to be a brave, intelligent nation, skilful in mechanical arts, and endowed with many excellent qualities, both physical and intellectual. The evils as universally complained of, by natives no less than foreigners, are the corruption, peculation, and venality which taint the public departments, the absence of justice from the tribunals, and the general disposition of the people in both sexes to deceit, intrigue, and sensual excess. These are symptoms of a malady which admits but of one remedy. They cannot be arrested by political, social, or intellectual improvements; neither will they yield to the fasts and festivals,

the gorgeous ritual, or the sentimental superstitions of the Russian church. The leprosy which gives rise to them can only be healed by the GREAT PHYSICIAN OF SOULS. The political and social evils of Russia result from a wide-spread corruption of morals, which can only be remedied by a more general reception of gospel truth. In proportion as the heart realizes to itself the justification of sinners by the blood of Jesus Christ, and feels a title to his righteousness by faith, it learns to abhor the guilt and folly of the fallen nature. It begins to thirst after a spiritual renovation, and, being led by the Holy Ghost, is gradually and practically conformed to the image of God's dear Son in righteousness and true holiness. These are the secret springs of national no less than of personal regeneration. Happy will it be for all classes in Russia when these heavenly influences shall become the objects of general desire, and be abundantly realized through grace.

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